

C O P I E S

OF THE

INFORMATIONS

A N D

Original P A P E R S

Relating to the Proof of

The Horrid Conspiracy

Against the Late

K I N G,

His Present MAJESTY,

A N D T H E

G O V E R N M E N T:

As they were Order'd to be Published by His late Majesty.

In the SAVOY:

Printed by *Thomas Newcomb*, One of His Majesties
Printers; and are to be sold by *Sam. Lowndes* over-
against *Exeter-Change* in the Strand. 1685.



THE
INFORMATION
OF
Josiah Keeling,

OF THE
Parish of *St. Butolpb* without *Aldgate*,
In the County
Of *Middlesex*, *Salter*,

Taken the 12th of *June*. 1683.

THis Informant Deposeth and saith, That some time before that His Majesty went last to *Newmarket*, about a Fortnight or Three Weeks as he remembers, *Mr. Richard Goodenough* (under-Sheriff to *Mr. Bethel* and *Mr. Cornish*, late Sheriffs of *London*) did at the *Sun-Tavern* behind the *Royal-Exchange*, take this Informant aside, and ask him how many Men he this Informant could procure to take away the Life of the King and Duke of *York*: He having begun his Discourse with this Informant by telling him that we (meaning thereby himself, this Informant, and other Citizens of *London*) were like to be in Slavery, and to lose our Charter: To which Question this Informant answered, to the best of his Remembrance, That he could not procure any to do that work. This Informant further saith, That meeting the said *Goodenough* a second time, while His Majesty was yet at *Newmarket*, he told this Informant, That the only way to prevent Shedding of Blood, was to take off the King and Duke privately, and renewed

A

his

his Former Request to me (this Informant) to procure what Men I could, towards the Effecting of it; and upon this Occasion he met me often in *London*, and came down to my House. This Informant further saith, That he at the Solicitation of the said *Goodenough*, and others, did speak to divers Persons that Mr. *Goodenough* had told this Informant there were several Men that would be Concerned in taking off the King and the Duke, and they wanted more to make up their Complement, which were to be Forty in number. Among the Persons that this Informant spoke to, there were Three, viz. *James Burton*, of *Wapping White Chappel*, Cheefe-Monger; *William Thompson* Carver of the same; and *Andrew Barber*, Instrument-maker of the same: That Meeting by Appointment at the *Mytre-Tavern* within *Aldgate*, with one *Richard Rumball* a Malster-man, living at a place called *The Rye* (if this Informant mistakes not the Name) within two miles of *Hoddesden*, in the County of *Hertford*, or thereabouts, did agree on the Saturday next before His Majesties Return from *Newmarket* last to go down to the *Rye*, being the House of the afore-said *Rumbal*, and there to effect their Design of taking off the King and the Duke. The manner whereby they proposed this should be Effect-ed, That the said *Rumbal's* House where they were to meet, being by the High-ways side, they that were to be Actors in the Fact, were to hide themselves under a Wall or a Pale; and when His Majesties Coach should come over against the said Wall or Pale, Three or Four were to Shoot with Blunderbusses at the Postilion and the Horses; and if the Horses should not drop, then there were to be Two Men with an empty Cart in the Lane near the place, who in the Habit of Labourers should run the Cart thwart the Lane; and so to stop the Horses; besides those that were to shoot the Postillion and Horses, there were several appointed to shoot into the Coach where His Majesty was to be, and others to Shoot at the Guards that should be attending the Coach. This Informant further saith, That meeting with Mr. *Robert West*, of the *Middle-Temple* Barrister, they went to the *Dolphin-Tavern* in *Bartholomew-Lane*, behind the *Royal Exchange*, where they met the said *Rumball*, and one *Hone* of *Southwark*, (as this Informant believes he was either a Carpenter or a Joyner) and they discoursing together, when His Majesty would come home from *Newmarket*, Mr. *Rumball* said, He heard that he would come that night: Mr. *West* said he had heard that His Majesty would not come till *Munday*; and, said he, I hope he will not come till *Saturday*, that is the *Saturday* come Seannight. To which *Rumball* replied, I hope so too. If he do not, said Mr. *West* to *Rumball*, why then how many Swan-Quills? how many Goose-Quills? and how many pair of Crow-Quills, will or must you have? Whereto *Rumball* answered, Six Swan-Quills, twenty Goose-Quills, twenty or thirty (the informant doth not exactly remember which) pair of Crow-Quills, with Ink and Sand proportionable. This Informant asking, either the said *West*, or else the said *Rumball*, what was meant by those several sorts of Quills; Was answered, That by the first were meant, Blunderbusses; by the second Muskets; by the third, Cases of Pistols; by the Ink and Sand, Powder and Bullet. This Informant seeing *Rumball* the same Week that His Majesty returned Home, told him he had seen the King passing by his House, and that if he had but Five Men with him, he could have done his Business, and the Dukes, for that there were but Five Life-Guard-men with them.

This

This Informant further saith, That the said *Goodenough* about a Fort-night ago, came to this Informants House, and going from thence to the Coffee-House, he told him, after he had pulled out some Papers, that he this Informant must take one of the said Papers; who asking the said *Goodenough*, what he must do with it? he the said *Goodenough* answered, that he must take to his assistance nine or ten Men, such as he could trust, to the end they might consult all the House-Keepers, Journey-men and Apprentices, to see what number of men might be raised upon occasion, either to justify the Act, if the King and Duke should be taken off, or if not, what strength could be made up in Case of an Insurrection or a Rebellion: And he being told by this Informant, that we were well, indeed better than any other Nation, (that is) much happier if we could be quiet, otherwise we should involve the Nation in Blood and Confusion; He replied, That he was clearly for taking off the King and the Duke, and then there should be quickly an end to it. And this Informant further saith, That the two Papers now produced by him, were delivered to him by the said *Goodenough*, and that the Paper beginning with these words, viz. 4. From White-Chappel Southeast, and ending Round Goodmans Fields, was Written with *Goodenoughs* own hand, as this Informant believes. And this Informant saith, That he had received a Third Paper from the said *Goodenough*, which he gave into the hands of one *Joseph Helby* a Carver of *Limehouse*, who put it into his Pocket, but said he would not meddle in it. This Informant further saith, That the said *Goodenough* told him he had divided the City and Subburbs into Twenty Parts, and shewed this Informant the Names of the Divisions in Writing, having, as he said, taken it out of the Map. In the Company of the said *Goodenough* and this Informant was one *William Rumball*, the Brother of the said *Richard Rumball*, to whom a Paper was offered, but he would not meddle. In each Division there was to be one Principal Man, to take to his assistance eight or nine more as he thought convenient; but he Named none of them to this Informant. This Informant further saith, That on *Thursday* last he going into the *Salutation-Tavern* in *Lumbard-street*, was told there were above-Stairs some Acquaintance of his; he going up, found the said *Goodenough* there, together with one *Wade*, *Nelthrop*, and the aforesaid *West*, all Barristers at Law; they called this Deponent in Jest by the Name of *Gulick*; and he asking them what they meant by it, they told him, *Gulick* was a brave Fellow and headed the People at *Cologne*, and they hoped to see this Informant do the same at *Wapping*; and they asked how their Friends did in *Wapping* and what Strength they could make there: The Informant answered, They would do well enough there, and concluded they were privy to the Design. In this Company was one they called Captain *Walcot*, who went over with the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and came back with his Corpse; as also one they called Colonel, whose Name this Informant does not know. This Informant further saith, That the said *Richard Rumball* in the Conversation above-mentioned with the said *Burton*, *Thompson*, and *Barber* and this Deponent, affirmed, That to take off the King and the Duke would be a Keeping of one of the Ten Commandments, since it would prevent a Rebellion, whereby abundance of Blood must be shed. This Informant further saith, That he asking *West* and *Goodenough* on the *Thursday* above-mentioned, what

*

what Care was taken for Arms, he was answered, That he need not take Care of that, for there was Provision already made; and that the said *West* recommended Secrecy above all things to this Deponent, otherwise the present Design miscarrying, they should never be able to Retrieve it. *West* further told this Deponent on *Easter-Eve*, That since the Design to be executed upon the King's Return from *Newmarket* had failed, they intended to take the King and Duke off between *Windsor* and *Hampton-Court*.

Josiah Keeling.

12 Die Junii 1683.

Josiah Keeling,

Juratus fuit Coram

me,

L. JENKINS.

The Joynt Information of Josiah Keeling, of the Parish of St. Eutolph without Aldgate, in the County of Middlesex, Salter, and of John Keeling of the Parish of St. Anne Black-Fryers, Citizen and Turner, taken the 14th of June, 1683.

THESE Informants being in Company with *Richard Goodenough*, this 14th day of *June*, between the hours of Twelve and One, at the *Dolphin-Tavern* behind the Exchange; and the said *Josiah Keeling* asking him what account he had of those Twenty Divisions that he had made of the City, or to that effect; He answered, That he had an account of *Lee a Dyer* in *Old-street, Middlesex*, and that he could raise him 500 Men: And the said *Goodenough* being asked by the said Informants where those Men should have Arms and Ammunition, and also where other men that were designed to be Raised should have the like: It was Replied by the said *Goodenough*, That there were Twenty Thousand Pounds already promised, which should be had upon Demand, and that the said Money was to be distributed to the Twenty Principal Undertakers, proportionably to the Lists of Men they brought in; or the said *Goodenough* Replied to that effect: The said *Goodenough* further adding, That the Duke of *Monmouth* and all his Friends would be concerned in raising the said Money; and that the said Duke would be at the Head of the said Party, which they propounded to be Four Thousand in number, and that many more would quickly fall in. And the said *Goodenough* further said, that a certain Colonel (whom the Informant takes to be Colonel *Romsey*) would advance Eight Hundred or a Thousand Pounds towards Paying for Arms. And the

the said *Goodenough* further said, that *Wade* the Counsellor of *Bristol* or thereabouts, kept in Town two or three hundred pounds, towards paying for Arms. And the said *Goodenough* being asked what he would Contribute towards the carrying on of the said Design, (he being a Rich Man) he answered that he had about threescore pounds in Plate and fifty or threescore pounds in Gold, and had he more it should all go to the same use: And the said *Josiah* asking him what Provision of Horse there was, the said *Goodenough* answered that there were a hundred ready, and Men to Mount them, and if occasion be, there should be more in readiness; and the said Informants further say, that the said *Josiah*, being asked by the said *Goodenough*, what Progress he had made upon those Papers he had entrusted with him, and *Josiah* shewing him the Paper of Number Three (which *Goodenough* owned to have been delivered by him to the said *Josiah*, with two Papers more) and telling him all was well enough with us, but asking him wishal, what we should do for Arms and Ammunition, he the said *Goodenough* answered, that if there was Faith in Men, Money should not be wanting to buy Arms and Ammunition; and that he was to meet this night them that were principally concerned. And these Informants say, that the said *Josiah* (being desirous to pry into the secrets of their design against the *Tower*) propounded to the said *Goodenough*, that a Person with the Staff of a Constable should bring in a Man bound as an offender before the Lieutenant, or Major *Roe*; and that at the same time, another Person should be brought in upon the same Colour, and by that means secure the Guard at the Gate, till such time that a Body of Men which was to be lodged in the Corner-house of *Thames-street* or the next to it, should come to their help; For which proposal the said *Goodenough* applauded the said *Josiah* very much, clapping him upon the back. And the Informant *Josiah* asking what to satisfy our People we should do for a few Arms, he answered, that the said *Josiah* should have Money to buy them. *Josiah* then askt him what Gun-smith he would recommend him to, adding whether he had not best deal with Mr. *West's* (meaning Mr. *West* the Lawyer's Gun-smith)? Whereto the said *Goodenough* answered, that Gun-smith was a very honest Fellow, and that he need not distrust him: The said *Josiah* further askt him, saying, you must have some Arms; Are those disposed that were to be sent to *Rye*? Whereto *Goodenough* answered, they were not. Then the said *Josiah* askt him if they were at *West's* House, or at the Gun-smiths; Where-to *Goodenough* answered, they were at the Gun-smiths, who lived in *Sheer-lane*, on the left hand, as one goes from *Fleet-street*: And the said *Josiah* asking the said *Goodenough* whether they went on with their Design of Killing the King and the Duke between *Windsor* and *Hampton-Court*; he the said *Goodenough* replied No, because they did not usually go together, but they would do it at the Bull-Feast in *Lyon-fields*. And these Informants further say Not.

14 Die Junii 1683.
Jurati Prædicti Johā:
& Josiah Coram me,

L. Jenkins.

Josiah Keeling.
John Keeling.

B.

The

The Joint Information of Josiah Keeling of the Parish of St. Butolph without Aldgate, in the County of Middlesex, Salter, and of John Keeling of the Parish of St. Anne Black-Fryers, Citizen and Turner, June the 15th, 1683.

THe Informants say, That being in the Company of *Richard Goodenough* at the *Sun-Tavern* behind the *Royal Exchange*, between the hours of One and Three of the Clock on the fifteenth day of this instant *June*, 1683. They asked the said *Goodenough* what Persons of Quality would be concerned: He the said *Goodenough* replied, That he had discoursed *William Lord Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*; and that the said *Lord Russel* told the aforesaid *Goodenough*, that he would be concerned in it to his utmost, and that he would use all his interest to accomplish the aforesaid Design of killing the King and the Duke of *York*: And these Informants further say, That asking the said *Goodenough*, what Collonel that was that yesterday he the said *Goodenough* told the Informants, *Josiah* and *John*, would advance eight Hundred or a Thousand pound towards carrying on the Design of Killing the King and Duke, he the said *Goodenough* Replied, it was Collonel *Romzey*; and the Informant *Josiah* asked the said *Goodenough* whether it was that *Romsey* that Married the Lady *Smith*, and had Commanded Forces in *Portugal* for his Majesty, (*i. e.*) the King of *England*, he Replied it was.

Witness our hands
this 15th day of
June, 1683.

JOSIAH KEELING.
JOHN KEELING.

The Information of Josiah Keeling, given upon Oath at Hampton-Court, the 23d of June, 1683.

ANd this Informant further saith, That several Gentlemen, viz. *Mr. Roope*, *Mr. Fitton Gerrald*, and *Mr. Allen*, and one other, whose Name this Informant hath forgot, who as they said came to visit their honest *Wapping Men*, that this Informant would recommend to them for such, and also to Dine with

with them at some Tavern, which was the *Fortune at Wapping*, where was Mr. *Samuel Gibbs*, Mr. *Edmund Hunt*, Mr. *Robert Ferguson*, with several other persons that this Informant doth not remember, where the afore-said Gentlemen began to drink *Healts*, some of which were as followeth: To the Man that first draws his Sword in defence of the Protestant Religion, against Popery and Slavery: Another was to the Confusion of the Two Brothers, Slavery and Popery; and being askt what they meant (as this Informant verily believeth) it was replied, The Two Brothers at *Whitehal*: The next was to the pinning of *Mackinny's Head* on the Monument for burning the City in 66. And this Informant asking what was meant, they said it was the Duke of *Tork*. And this Informant Dining at the *Horse-shoe Tavern on Tower-hill*, with *Edward Norton Esquire*, Mr. *Starkey*, Mr. *Ogle*, Mr. *Goodenough*, and others forgot by this Informant, they drank the fore-said *Healts*, and did explain them as the afore-said Company did. And this Informant further saith, that *Fran. Goodenough* sent a Letter to this Informant by one *Cherry*, to acquaint the said Informant, That the said *Goodenough* would with some other Gentlemen Dine at the End of the Town where this Informant dwelleth, and that this Informant would speak to such men as he could trust, to meet the afore-said persons at the *Siracusa House*; There came with the afore-said *Goodenough* one *John Row* late Sword-bearer at *Bristol*, with a *Dorsetshire* Gentleman whose name this Informant hath forgot; also at the same Meeting was Mr. *Edmund Hunt*, *Andrew Barber*, *William Tomson*, *James Burton*, as this Informant verily believes, with several others forgot; where it was agreed we should discourse so that it might not be understood if we were overheard. Then the question was if the Foot-ball was laid down, how many we might reasonably expect would come in at first Laying of it down from our end of the Town to play at it? To which it was replied, it was uncertain, but as many as were there would be concerned; to which it was answered by *Row* and *Goodenough*, if we would not in a little time kick the Ball effectually we should be made Slaves; for saith *Row* the Lord Mayor hath imposed Sheriffs upon you, and the King will take away your Charter, and then you'll be in a fine condition, and *Goodenough* spake to the same purpose; upon which *Hunt* replied, That he could do as much good as any body, for that Foot-ball players often got broken shins, and he the said *Hunt* could Cure them. And this Informant further saith, that this Discourse was grounded upon this Foundation, What Men can be raised against the Church-Warden at *Whitehal*, which was understood the King. And this Informant further saith, that *Richard Goodenough*, and *Richard Rumbal* told this Informant, that there was a Remonstrance or Declaration ready drawn up, which would be printed against the day that this designed Commotion was to be, wherein they would ease the people of Chimney Money, which seemed to be most Grievous, especially to the common people, and that they would lay the Kings Death upon the Papists as a continued design of the former Plot.

JOSIAH KEELING.

Copy

Copy of a Note given in by *Josiah Keeling*
23d. of June, and by him received from
Goodenough.

*From the Tower Eastward on the South-side of Rosemary-
Lane to Maiden-head-lane, the West-side of Maiden-head-
lane, the North-side of Upper Shadwel, Westward to new
Gravel-lane, the West-side of new Gravel-lane to the
Thames, and by the Thames to the Tower.*

The Streets and Allies of Note within the bounds.

*St. Katherine's.
East-Smithfield.
Ratcliff-High-way.
Vintuallling-Office.
Butcher-Row.
Redcross-street.
Armitage.
Nightingale-lane.
Artichoack-lane.
Red-Mead-lane.
Wapping.
Gun-alley.
Cross-alley.
Well-alley.
Warners Yard.
Salters-alley.
Green Bank.
Gun-alley.
Pump alley.
Love-lane.
Back-alley.
Meeting-horse-alley.*

*Old-Gravel lane.
Brewer's-lane.
Tobacco-pipe-alley.
Cinamon-street.
Crown-street.
Queen-street.
King Edwards Street.
King-street.
Carman-Rents.
Crown Yard.
Harrow-alley.
Seven Star-alley.
Garter Yard.
West's Garden.
Blew-gate field.
Fleece Yard.
Chamberlain's-alley.
Frankland-street.
Match Walk.*

*With all other Places
within the Outbounds
not Named.*

*The Information of Thomas Shepard, taken by
the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland,
&c. June the 27th. 1683.*

SOME time before my Lord *Shaftsbury* went for *Holland*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Gray*, Lord *Ruffel*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, Colonel *Romsey*, and Mr. *Ferguson* met at my House in *Abchurch-lane*, where the Subject of their Discourse was how to seize Your Majesties Guards, and in Order thereunto, as I afterwards at their next Meeting was informed, the Duke, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, walked about that end of the Town one night, and gave an account that they found them very remiss in their places; not like Souldiers, and that the thing, provided they could have a sufficient strength, was feasibly enough; but finding that failed, the Project was wholly laid aside, so far as I know: After that Mr. *Ferguson* told me of a Project was on foot for Destroying Your Majesty and his Royal Highness coming from *Newmarket*. Colonel *Romsey*, Mr. *West*, and as I remember Mr. *Wade* came to my Counting-house one Evening, and began to Discourse of it; upon which I told them, that supposing they should effect what they talked of, it could not be expected that if the Duke of *Monmouth* should be Crowned, but in Honour and for his own Vindication, he must search out the Assassins, and both Try and Execute them: So that instead of expecting a Reward, they must lose their Lives; upon which they ceased their Discourse, and went away soon after. Some time after this, Mr. *Ferguson* told me of a general Insurrection intended both in *England* and *Scotland*, and in order to it, that Sir *John Cochran*, Mr. *Bayly*, Mr. *Monro*, Sir *Hugh* and Sir *George Cambell*, were come up to Treat with some of our English Men about it; and that the Lord of *Argile* had made a Proposition, That if they would Raise him Thirty Thousand pounds he would begin it in *Scotland*, but finding no hopes of Raising that Sum, the Scotch were willing to accept of Ten Thousand pounds: And by means of a Letter, which came as I was informed (for there was no Name subscribed) from one Mr. *Stewart*, to some unknown Man, which I have forgot; Concluding then that it was intended to Mr. *Bayly*, or some other of those Gentlemen, having had some small acquaintance with Mr. *Stewart*, formerly by means of his Brother, who was then a Merchant in *Burdeaux*, and one of my Correspondents, I came acquainted with Mr. *Bayly*, who told me from time to time what steps they made in't, how he Converſed with the Duke, Lord *Ruffel*, Major *W.* and as I remember, Colonel *Sidney*; and that he had divers promises of the Money, and desired it might be paid into my Hands; at length he told me that Five Thousand pounds they had agreed to Raise amongst themselves, and that they expected the other half should be Raised in the City; but finding no Monies could be got in the City, that Project fell likewise, and as Mr. *Bayly* told me, all his Country-men were going beyond Sea.

A few days after came out the Discovery, and I never saw any of them since. Mr. *Ferguson* told me that my Lord *Effex* was hearty in this business, and that *John Trenchard* was a Man to be depended upon in the West: They had likewise good hopes of Sir *William Courtney*, and that my Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent Captain *Walcot* down to him, who returned with a very cool Answer that he found them not what he expected, but believed if it came to a Rising, they would prove right enough, I had almost forgot to acquaint your Majesty that both Mr. *Ferguson* and Mr. *Bayly* told me; That Mr. *Charleton* had once promised to see the Ten Thousand pound paid.

Thomas Shepard.

Jurat coram Me
June 27. 1683.

SUNDERLAND.

The Information of Joseph How of the Parish of St. Giles's without Cripple-gate, in the County aforesaid Distiller, taken upon Oath before Sir Reginald Forester Baronet, this 15th day of June 1683. against Thomas Lea of Old-street in the Parish aforesaid, in the County aforesaid Dyer, for speaking of Dangerous and Seditious Words.

THis Informant Deposeth and sayeth, That the said *Thomas Lea*, being at his House in *White-Cross-street*, on Thursday last, between two and three of the Clock in the Afternoon, being the 14th of this instant June: The said *Thomas Lea*, was discoursing with him, this Informant, about the loss of the City Charter, and other things; upon which the said *Thomas Lea* fell into a Passion, and told this Informant that he was one of the number of Ten Thousand Men, which were designed to be ready at an hours warning, and in Order thereunto, there was Twenty Thousand pounds in Bank to carry on the Undertaking; and many more did every day subscribe mony or engage their personal assistance: And the first enterprize they venture upon, is to go very near *Windsor*, and for to seize the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold-Finch*; and that Three Hundred Men were designed for that Enterprize: And afterwards to seize the Militia, *Whitehal*, and the *Tower*:
But

But this Informant answered that he judged it impossible, the *Tower* being now so very Strong; but the said *Thomas Lea* told him that he had been round the *Tower* in Company with a Captain of a Ship, and had found out a place where a breach might be made, which is to be done by placing some Ships on the *Thames* side, with Mortar Pieces therein to dismount the Guns; and also to bring the Major part of those Seamen which were in Arrears of Pay to perform the work, they being angry and in want, therefore the fitter for that purpose: And that for the better carrying of the Design, several Meetings are held (as this day for one) at the *Kings-head Tavern* in *Athist-Ally* near the *Royal Exchange*, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon: Further Informeth not.

Joseph How.

Regin. Forester.

June

June 25, 1683. *The Examination of Colonel John Romsey.*

THis Examinant saith, That in *October* or *November* last, there was an Insurrection intended by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and That the said Earl of *Shaftsbury* told this Examinant, that *Bristol* was to be his Post, and the Examinant being asked what Persons of Quality or Capacity to Command as Officers, were named as intended to take part in this Insurrection; He Answered, That he heard my Lord *Ruffel* named and complained of, and Mr. *John Trenchard* named by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and this Examinant further saith, that Row the Sword-bearer of *Bristol* told him, That Mr. *West* had acquainted him the said Row, that there was an intention to Assassinate the King at His coming from *Newmarket* in *October* last: the Examinant doth not remember whether the Duke was there or no, but that if he were he was likewise to have been killed (as the said Row told this Examinant) and this Examinant further saith, That about the latter end of *November*, or the beginning of *December* last, this Examinant having Matters of Law depending, became acquainted with Mr. *Robert West*, and employed him as his Referee therein; That the said *West* acquainted this Examinant with the Design to Murther the King at His coming from *Newmarket* in *October* last; and told this Examinant, That though it miscarried at that time, it was not to be given over so, and therefore desired that he this Examinant, Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, and some others which he cannot charge his Memory withal, should meet at his the said *West*'s Chamber, where this Examinant and they did meet within three or four days after, to the best of this Examinants Remembrance, and there Discourfed about the same Design, and let it fall at that time; and this Examinant further saith, That about the Month of *February* last, the above-said Persons met with this Examinant at the said Mr. *West*'s Chamber, to consider how the Design should be brought to effect at the Kings return from *Newmarket*; and Mr. *West*, and Mr. *Richard Goodenough* undertook to find out Men for that purpose. And this Examinant further saith, That about this time the said *West* and *Goodenough* did desire that this Examinant would be acquainted with *Richard Rumball* of the *Rye* near *Hogsden* in *Hertfordshire*, who was the Man that would undertake to Command the Party that should take off the King and the Duke: and that at their desire this Examinant did consent to a Meeting with the said *Rumball*. When *Richard Goodenough* brought this Examinant to meet Mr. *Rumball* at the *Angel Tavern* near the *Old Exchange*, the said *Rumball* acquainted this Examinant how the Ground lay, and would have had him gone down to see it, but this Examinant refused it. And this Examinant further saith, That after that they had several Meetings, to try if they could make up the Number of Forty or Fifty Men for that purpose, under which Number the said *Rumball* would not undertake it. And this Examinant further saith, That at their next Meeting two or three days before or after the Kings coming from *Newmarket*

New-market in *March* last, They did resolve that Arms should be bought against the next Journey to *New Market* in *Autumn* or any other opportunity, as at the Play-House or coming from *Windsor* to *Hampton-Court*, or otherwise: And that *Mr. West* did undertake to provide so many Cases of Pistols, so many Carbines, and so many Blunderbusses, and this Examinant thinks Ten Musquets: And that it was resolved, That there should be Arms provided for Fifty Men at least. And this Examinant further saith, That the Men were to be divided, some to shoot the Postillion and Horses, some to Fire upon the King and Duke into the Coach and the remainder to Charge the Guards. And that there was also a Cart to be laid in the way, by which means the Coach should be hindred from going on. That the said *Rumbal* said at their next Meeting, after the Kings Passing by his House, that there were but four of the Guards Attending the Coach, and that if he had had but a small number of Men with him, he could have taken off the King and the Duke with Ease: And this Examinant further saith, that at this last Meeting Captain *Walcot* was there present. And this Examinant further saith, that he did not meet again in five or six Weeks after with the said Company though often press'd by *Mr. West* that it was not fit to give it over. And this Examinant further saith, That this Examinant, the said *Goodenough, West, Walcot, Norton, Wade* and *Holloway*, did Meet at *Mr. West's* Chamber about three weeks or a Month since; and did then resolve to try what Men could be Raised in *London* and the Liberties; and that they might be more certain, *London* was Divided into Twenty Parts; and *Mr. Holloway, Mr. Wade* and *Mr. West*, undertook to make the Division; and *Mr. West* and *Goodenough* did undertake to find a Man for every Division that should bring in the certain number that they could Raise respectively. And this Examinant further saith, that in the first Fortnight or thereabouts they did very little; but the next Meeting after *Mr. Goodenough* brought in an account of seven Divisions, which amounted to Three Thousand Nine Hundred Men or thereabouts; and that he the said *Goodenough* did believe that the remaining Divisions would afford as many Men more: And it was further resolved at that time, that the Design in hand should be kept secret until such time as the return of the whole Divisions should be brought in.

And this Examinant being further asked, whether he did hear any Commanders or Commission-Officers Named to Command these Forces, he saith he heard of no particular Names, but in General that there were a Hundred old Officers about the Town; that after that they certainly knew how many Men all the Divisions would amount to they then resolved this Examinant should carry the Proposal of Commanding these Forces to the Duke of *Monmouth*; but the Listings not being finished, he never said any thing of it to his Grace. And this Examinant further saith, that the pretence to make this Levy of Men was to assert Religion and Liberties. And this Examinant further saith, that there was a Declaration designed to be Published when these Forces should be up; but that to the best of his memory he never saw it nor heard it Read, but he believes some part of it was Discourfed of in this Examinants presence; as that touching Liberty of Conscience, and

something relating to the Law and the Judges. And this Examinant further saith, That to the best of his memory on Tuesday last was Sennight, this Examinant, Captain *Walcot*, *West*, *Nelthrop*, *Goodenough* and *Wade*, met at the *Salutation* Tavern in *Lombard-street*, to know what progress *Goodenough* had made in the other Thirteen Divisions, who told this Examinant and the rest, that he had done nothing since the last Meeting; but that he was to meet with some persons that Afternoon, who were to give him a further Account: And this Examinant further saith that after they had Dined, one that was a Stranger to this Examinant came into the Room to speak with Mr. *Goodenough*, and that Mr. *West* asked him, if he had seen the *Gazette* of that day, in which was a Relation of a Commotion in *Cologne* by one *Gulick*, and told him he should be our *Gulick*, for that in Dutch *Gu*---was *Keil* and *ick* was *ing*, telling this in a jesting manner. And this Examinant further saith that on Saturday last was Sennight, he this Examinant, Mr. *West*, and Mr. *Norton*, met at the *George* Tavern upon *Ludgate-hill*, and then this Examinant was told that a Discovery was made of what they had been doing; and at present this Examinant further saith not.

J. Romzey.

25 Die Junii 1683.
Capt. & Recognit. Coram,

Albemarle.
L. Jenkins.

Further Informations of Colonel Romzey.

Further this Examinant saith, that Mr. *Ferguson* and the rest did in several Meetings since the beginning of *February* press for the having the Men got ready that were to Kill the King and Duke, and it was told him by Mr. *Goodenough* and *Richard Rumbal* and *West*, that a great many were poor and could not furnish themselves with Horses or Arms; this was presently after his coming out of *Holland*: Mr. *Ferguson* replied, he would provide the Money; and in two Meetings afterwards he told them he had Six Hundred pounds ready in Gold, that they might depend on him, when they had got the Forty or Fifty Men, under which number *Richard Rumbal* would not undertake it; and then *Rumbal* and the rest asked *Ferguson* at the first Meeting we had, if he thought the Duke of *Monmouth* would not revenge the Kings Death, and Hang those that had been the Actors; Mr. *Ferguson* very freely undertook to have it under the Dukes Hand against the next Meeting, but when we met, he told them there was no saying any such thing to the Duke; but he said that we must

must all be ruined if it were not done : Then they asked if the Duke would appear when it was done ; to which he made answer, That a Person would be there , but he must be excused for Naming any Names , and desired not to be pressed : I told them always they were not to trust to what Mr. *Ferguson* said, for he was so willing to have the most Barbarous Murther done, that he would say any thing to encourage them to do it ; such Discourse as this hapned several times at our meetings, some saying, When our Swords were in our Hands, if he would not protect them, that then he should be cut off too: Such Hellish Discourses as these we entertained our selves with, until the News of the Firing of *New-Market* came to Town : And then Mr. *Ferguson* sent for most of us, and was earnest that *Goodenough* and *Rumbald* should get what Men they could, and that he could help them with Six, and that *Rumbald* should attempt it with as many as could be got, but it was given over for that time, because neither Arms nor Horses were ready ; then he promised that he would immediately get the Six Hundred pounds into his own hands to provide all things in a readiness against the first opportunity, whether at the Play-House, between *Hampton-Court*, or going to *Winchester* ; and said that some persons were already out to see a fit place to do it in, and if it could not be done before that, then all things should be ready against the King and Dukes going down to *New-Market*, as Horses bought and kept in a readiness, and Arms which Mr. *West* undertook to do, he being acquainted with a Gun-smith, and upon Mr. *Ferguson*'s Promise that he would procure the Money, Mr. *West* bespoke the Arms, and they were ready in a very little time : But when Mr. *West* came and told Mr. *Ferguson* that the Arms were ready (for six Weeks now I did not see *Ferguson*, but Mr. *West* acquainted me with all passed as follows,) he told the said *West* that his Friend had not brought him the Money as he promised ; also Mr. *West* was forced to pay for the Arms out of his own Money, which was not repaid him as he told this Examinant not above twenty days since or thereabouts : The said *West* told this Examinant that Mr. *Ferguson* told him he might send for his Money when he would, by a Note to Major *W.* but he must tell him the Name that he would make the Note payable to, that he might tell the same to Major *W.* the Name I have forgot. In some very few days after, as he the said *West* told this Examinant, the said *Ferguson* told him, that he must not send any Body or Note to receive the said Hundred pounds, but *Richard Rumbald*, because the said *W.* would not trust any body else ; *West* sent the said *Rumbald* very early one Morning, but the said Major *W.* was gone out of Town before he came to the House, which he went and acquainted the said *Ferguson* with : In a few days after the said *Ferguson* paid the said *West* a Hundred pounds in Gold, and as the said *West* then told this Examinant, that the said *Ferguson* told him, he did receive the said Hundred pounds of Mr. *Charlton* ; and about fourteen days since the said *West* and this Examinant going to Mr. *Ferguson*, he told us that there was Three Thousand pounds Raised for to buy Horses, and to maintain them and the Men in a Readiness, that if any opportunity offered all might be ready ; but did not tell us from whom he was to have this Money, neither did either of us ask him any question about it. Further this Examinant saith,

saith, That to the best of his Remembrance, in *January* last, *Mr. Nelthrop* told this Examinant, that meeting *Colonel Sidney*, he told him that now something would be done, for that it was relolved to send some persons into *Scotland* to some Gentlemen there to come to Town, that they might know what the Scots would do, but they knew not of a Man fit to send; and the said *Nelthrop* told this Examinant that he recommended one *Mr. Aaron Smith* as a fit man. And further this Examinant saith, That the said *Nelthrop* told this Examinant that the Colonel and others had sent him (*Aaron Smith*) with a Letter to *Sir John Cochran* to advise him and his Friends to come to *London* about their *Carolina* affairs, and that a good Gelding was bought for him, or Money given to him to buy one; as also Money was given him by *Colonel Owen* to pay his Expences on the Road and also that some Money was given to his Wife for her Maintenance, she being in poverty. Upon this Letter *Sir John Cochran* came to *London*, and some other Scotch Gentlemen, whose Names this Examinant does not know, but as the said *Nelthrop* and *Mr. Ferguson* did acquaint this Examinant, they were to Treat with some of this Nation what was to be done for the Delivery of the Nations: The said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, That the Scotch Gentlemen did acquaint those they Treated with (not Naming any of their Names) that their people were in very great Poverty, but very willing to set themselves at Liberty, but they had no Arms nor Ammunition nor Money to buy any and without they could let them have Money to furnish Arms and Ammunition, they could do nothing. During this last Transaction of the Scots for Money, I did not see *Mr. Ferguson*, but *Mr. West* who went constantly to him did tell me their Discourse; as that sometimes the Scotch Gentlemen were departing discontented, and then again in three or four days that they were like to agree and that Money should be provided for them: Often he told me of such changes as these in that Transaction and that *Mr. Ferguson* did assure the said *West*, that the Money would be all paid in one week; I answered the said *West*, who would have had me gone to *Ferguson*, that I would not see him until I was certain it was paid, for the said *Ferguson* undertook much and did nothing but promise what he could not do. There was a Debate what Declaration should be presently after the Murther of the King and Duke and amongst other things a Free Parliament was one Head, Liberty of Conscience was another: That those that had their Lands taken from them at the Kings Restauration should have them returned. A Reformation of the Expensive part of the Law. *Mr. Ferguson* undertook that one should be ready. *Mr. West* did further acquaint this Examinant, that my Lord *Howard* had been at his Chamber to Pump him the said *West* what we were doing, and that his Lordship did desire to have a Meeting with the said *West* and this Examinant, which neither the said *West* nor this Examinant were willing to; and the said *West* did further acquaint this Examinant that my Lord *Howard* did propose a Council of Ten to meet; but we not consenting to meet, the said *West* did civilly put off the Proposition, as he the said *West* did inform this Examinant. And further this Examinant saith, That Discouraging with *Mr. West* and *Mr. Goodenough*, and others about the Scotch Affair,

fair, they did tell me, That the last Spring there was a Treaty with the Earl of *Argyle*, and that then without Money the Scots declared they could not begin, but that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* broke that Designe, not consenting to pay the Money: This Examinant never heard any thing of this Design, until the said *West*, *Norton* and *Goodenough* did tell him thereof. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Nelthrop* and Mr. *Wade* did always oppose the Murthring of the King and the Duke, and so did Captain *Waleor*, but at last the said *Waleor* consented. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Bourn*, and Mr. *Goodenough's* Brother were at some of the last Meetings about the raising of the Men: This Examinant saith, That to the best of his Memory he hath here set down every thing that was said or Transacted in the Debates when he was there, but he was absent from some.

J. Romzey

Colonel Romzey's further Information.

THIS Examinant further saith, That being sent by the Earl of *Shaftsbury* about the beginning of November last to Mr. *Shepard's* a Merchant near *Lombard-Street*, where was the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* and Mr. *Ferguson*; this Examinant told them my Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent him to tell them it was high time to come to some Resolution about the Rising; They made him this Answer by Mr. *Ferguson* (and afterwards my Lord *Grey* said words to the same effect) that Mr. *John Trenchard* had promised and assured them at his first coming to Town that Term, that he could in four hours time have a Thousand Foot and Two or Three Hundred Horse, but now they had sent to him to know the certainty, he had returned to them this following answer; That Men would not be got from home on two or three days warnings, but that when such a thing as a Rising should be, he must know it sooner, that he might acquaint Men to make Provision of Settlements for their Families; so they could not go on at this time any further. And for this reason, and that they heard Sir *William Courtney* would not stir, my Lord must be contented. This Message I returned to my Lord: On this my Lord resolved to leave *England*. This Examinant further saith, That there was a Project of Government drawn up by Mr. *West* and Mr. *Wade*, which they delivered to this Examinant, and he gave it to Mr. *Ferguson*, who told them that he heard Colonel *Sidney* had drawn one, that he would compare them together and reduce them into one intire one. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Nelthrop* told him that my Lord of *Essex*, my Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, and young Mr. *Hamden* were the persons that did Treat with the Scotch Gentlemen, and so did Mr. *West*, and I think Mr. *Ferguson*. Mr. *Nelthrop* and Mr. *West*, during the time I did not see Mr. *Ferguson*, told me that now they were resolved to raise Ten Thousand pounds for the Scots, and that next week it

should all be paid in; that was about a Month since. But they had been with Mr. *Shepard* the Merchant, and he told them there was none paid. This Money was to buy Arms in *Holland*. Mr. *Ferguson* told this Examinant the Rising must be in *Scotland* before Harvest, or else their people would not be got together; and that in four days after the Scots were up we should have the first Intelligence and that then we must Rise in this Town and in *Taunton*. My Lord *Howard* was at first one with my Lord *Essex* and the rest, but he told Captain *Walcot* and Mr. *West* what passed amongst them, for which reason he was left out of the meetings. Further this Examinant saith, that Mr. *Wade* and *Holloway* told him how they had fixed the matter for *Bristol*; that they were sure of Three Hundred Men, and that they would Post them in all the cross Streets, so that none of the other party should get together in a Body or out of their Houses. By this means they should be Masters of the Town without spilling one drop of Blood. And this Examinant further saith that *Goodenough* told *Wade*, *West* and this Examinant, that about twenty five Hundred Arms would be wanting for the Men that would Rise here; for without they were Armed that were on the first to Rise here, we should be beat; therefore *West* and this Examinant did acquaint Mr. *Ferguson* from the rest that did meet, of the necessity of having so many Arms. He replied, Money should not be wanting; but how so many Arms could be bought without a discovery? Mr. *West* did undertake that if Money were given, the Arms might be had; and some person of the Company did name a Gun-smith that was an honest Man that might without suspicion have two or three Hundred Arms, and other Gun-smiths might, if enquired after, be found, that might lodge proportionable quantities in their Shops, and the Men should be led to these Shops and Armed. It was said by *Goodenough* that six Hundred Arms were together in the Artillery Ground, which might be easily seized on. Many debates we had about the *Tower*; some proposed the taking of it by day-time, by sending some Men onely with Pocket Pistols, and when the Sign was given they were to fall on the Guard; but this was left off as not agreeing with a Rising by night; and then the other way was to clap two or three hundred Fagots to the Gates and set them on Fire, which would make those within surrender and that Ships should come and lie before the *Tower* and batter it at the same time the Fagots were on fire.

J. Romzey.

Colonel

Colonel Romzey's Letter to the Earl of Rochester concerning the Scotch Pedlars.

My Lord,

When the Rising was to have been in November, Mr. Ferguson did say that he could promise for Three Hundred Scots in this Town that would be ready at a days warning, and that there was in England Twelve Hundred that might be depended upon; that Three or Four Hundred did always abide here, the rest were scattered throughout England with Packs on their Backs for the Maintenance of themselves; that a great many of them were Gentlemens Sons and all of them had been at Bothwel-Bridge, and betook them to this way to get (and carry) Intelligence as well as a living.

J. Romzey.

Another

Another Letter from Colonel Romzey to the Earl of Rochester.

My Lord,

I Do not know whether I have already in any of my Papers where I mention Mr. Roe, acquainted the King of one passage he told me, (but I think I have) that Gibbons the Duke of Monmouths Footman did tell him, that nothing but taking off the Two Brothers would do the business, and if he would go with him, he would shew him the place to do it; he carried him to my Lord of Bedfords Garden, where I think he told me is a Mount to look into Covent Garden, and said no place can be like this to lodge Men in to do the feat and shewed him the Garden-door where they might make a Sally on the Coach if they mist with their Fire. Mr. Roe asked him, but how will you bring the Men in? He told him my Lord was long in the Country, and he was so well acquainted with the Porter and Servants that he could have the Key at any time. The said Gibbons told Sir Thomas Armstrong as if Roe had proposed it to Gibbons, and Sir Thomas came to me in a great Passion and told me what I have related, and bid me speak to Roe to warn him of talking of any such thing. When I did speak to Roe he Confessed the thing, but that Gibbons moved it to him, for he knew not any thing of my Lord of Bedfords Garden or Servants.

This was to be done as the King came from the Play. I cannot recollect whether I was twice at Mr. Shepards with the Duke of Monmouth, &c. or but once; but if I was but once, then I heard Mr. Ferguson relate to my Lord of Shaftsbury some part of their Debates at another time, as that they had resolved of the 19th of November for the Rising and some Heads of a Declaration: Whether I heard this Debate at Mr. Shepards or at my Lord Shaftsburies Lodgings I cannot be positive in, but Mr. Shepard I believe may remember.

J. Romzey.

The further Information of Colonel Romfey.

THIS Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Ferguson* was at this Examinants House for seven or eight nights, intermitting a night two or three, which time he told me he went to his Wife. During the time he was at my House, the Duke of *Monmouth* came to see him, to the best of my remembrance twice; the first time I was with them, and all the discourse that passed was about my Lord *Shaftsburie's* death, and relating the Affairs of *Holland* and the Confederates, the Duke not staying a quarter of an hour. The next time I was not in the room with them. Sir *Thomas Armstrong* came several times in a Morning to see him, sometimes before I was stirring; the first time I shewed him the room where he lay, and did not go in with him, but went to dress me, I being in my shirt.

**Andrew Barbers Informations read in Council,
23 June, 1683.**

ON Saturday morning, about the latter end of *March* last past, Mr. *Keeling* came to me, and told me that he and some other Friends of mine would have me come to the *Mitre Tavern* within *Aldgate*, because they would drink a glass of Wine with me; and there I came to them, and found Mr. *Rumbal*, a one Eyed man, Mr. *Keeling*, *Burton*, and *Thompson*, I sat down with them and drank; soon after Mr. *Rumbald* fell into Discourse concerning getting of Arms to his House; he was speaking he thought it would be a good way to send them in a Barge, but he concluded it would not be safe; but said, he thought that those that would be concerned should ride with Arms themselves betimes in the Morning or in the Night and so come to his House, and there they should be refreshed and their Horses, till he should order them what to do. Some I understand were to continue on Horseback, and they that were to kill the Horses, Coachman, and Postillion, and to shoot into the Coach were to be on foot; and he would order Carts to be set cross the Road for to hinder them. So then *Rumbald* asked if we could shoot well, I told him I could not, I never shot at a mark in my life; the others said, let them alone for that; says *Keeling*, he is a good Souldier and a lusty man, what do you think of him? he made no answer, so I answered I was no Souldier fit for that work, and said that it would be Murder to Kill, and he said it would be a means not to Kill, but to save many thousand mens Lives. When I had done, he said he would order some to bring word what Coach by the colour of the Horses, that they may not be mistaken, for this was to be as I understood in *Rumbalds* own ground, for his House joyns to the Road; and he said they must come by his House to come to *London*, so he said he would ingage his Life to do it, if he had but Thirty men, but he expected Forty: and for Horses Mr. *Keeling* said, he would get as many as he could, but it was not concluded on, by reason *Rumbald* did expect to have seen more at

that place, but Mr. *Keeling* promised him they should be ready at the next Meeting, which was to be the next Wednesday after, as I remember, but then I resolved never to come into their company more, nor be concerned with them, because I did understand there would be Murther committed, nor have been in their company since, nor I never saw that *Rumbald* before nor since. Likewise I replied, if you should do so, how will you escape? *Rumbald* answered, he would fight his way through, and separate themselves into By-roads, and make what way they could for *London*, and then they should do well enough. All this time I never heard that this was intended against the King, for he was never mentioned in any respect, that I did understand, but I did verily believe that it was meant by his Royal Highness. So we paid our reckoning, which was I think six pence apiece, and they went towards the *Exchange*, but I directly home, and have not been in their company since, nor no other tending to such evil work.

Andrew Barber.

Moreover, *Rumbald* said, that there was never above one or two that rid before the Coach; and likewise, if they could get to *Cambridge Heath*, or thereabouts, they should have friends enough for their help.

In the Gate-house the 29th June, 83. Major Holmes Confessed.

THAT in order to the late Earl of *Argile's* going into *Scotland*, and raising a Rebellion there, he had proposed that 30000 *l. Sterling* should be sent to him from hence, by some great persons, with whom a Treaty was held for that purpose by *Ferguson*; but that they refused to advance so great a sum yet, condescended to send him 10000 *l.* which *Holmes* knoweth not whether the late Earl hath accepted of, as sufficient for effectuating that design.

Upon his being ask'd who were the great men by whose means the Money was to be advanced, he protested that he had never conversed with any of them, but that he had heard often the Duke of *Monmouth* and particularly the Lord *Ruffel* named; and as to the Lord *Grey*, he did not remember that his Lordship was mentioned unto him in the matter of Money, but did confess that he had frequently been told of his being engaged in, and a promoter of the design in general.

He confessed that the Letter marked *Numb. 2.* is from the Countess of *Argile* to her Husband, and that he was to have sent it away by the Post last Tuesday into *Holland*, had he not been taken into Custody. That it was directed for *Peter Harvie* Linnen Weaver (which is not a true name) in *Bow Church-yard*, and was left at one Mr. *Brown's* House a Sider-Seller there, where *Holmes* usually received her Letters under that borrowed name, but saith that he cannot decypher this, nor any of her Letters.

As to the long Letter marked *Numb. 3.* he protests he cannot Decipher it, nor can positively say for whom it was to have been directed, yet thinks it was to have been carried by *Castarres* to *Ferguson*, and by him to the chief men concerned in the Design.

Upon

Upon inquiring what is become of the parcel of Books, which are the Printed Case of the Earl of *Argile*, and in what method they were brought over from *Holland*, he confessed that they had been shipped on board of a Vessel, called (to the best of his memory) the *Success* of *Colchester*, bound for *London*, and that *Spence* was afterwards to come in the Passage Boat designed to have come to *Graves-end*, but that the wind having been very cross, he came on shoar at, or somewhat near *Harwich*, from whence he came by Land to *London*.

Upon asking what was meant by the Figures 80 and 81, in the Letters marked *Numb. 5.* he said he did not well remember, but when I told him that I knew by the Cypher, Money was meant by 50, and Officers by 51. he confessed that it was so; whereupon I did observe to him, that as the late Earl was to have had Money, so he was to have been furnished with Officers for the carrying on the Rebellion in *Scotland*, which also he confessed, but said wisthal, that this Letter was intended for his Lady, which he knew by a mark on the back, and shewed it to me.

The Examination of Robert Blaney of the Middle Temple Esq; 29 June, 83.

THis Examinant Deposeth and saith, That this Deponent was invited about *Christmas* last, on Wednesday the 27th day of *December* last, (as near as he can remember) by *John Row*, late Sword-bearer of the City of *Bristol*, to Dine with Collonel *John Rumzey*, at his House in *Soho Square*, where were present the said Collonel *Rumzey*, *Robert West*, *Richard Goodenough*, *Joseph Tyley* of *Lincolns Inn Esq;* *Christopher Barriscomb* Gent. and the said *John Row*, and this Examinant; where being together after dinner, and much Wine and other strong drink drack in the said company, a Discourse was began, but by whom this Examinant cannot remember, about the times being very bad and dangerous for Sober Men, and what Remedies were fit to redress Grievances, and rid our selves of Arbitrary Power, or to that effect; and it was there likewise discoursed and said, but by whom in particular this Examinant cannot exactly remember it being so long since, that we should never be well till we were rid of two people, by whom as this Examinant did apprehend, were meant His Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*. And it was likewise said, That if the Great People did but agree to Joyn and Rise, or words to that effect it might be done, for the Countries were all willing and ready; then as this Examinant doth remember by some one, it was in the said company proposed, and as he verily believes by the said *Mr. West*, that either a Deed of Bargain and Sale, or Lease and Release (one of them it was) should be executed to bar both Him in Possession, and Him in Remainder; by which as this Examinant did then apprehend, was meant the taking off His Majesty and his Royal Highness, and so he believes the rest of the said company did also. And a glass of Wine did pass round the said Table as a Health to the Executing of the said Bargain and Sale, or Lease and Release, (which he cannot tell, but one of them it was.) And this Examinant further saith, that he never was present at any other Consultation with

the before-named persons, or any others about the Death of the King, or his Royal Highness, or the raising of any Rebellion, that this Examinant can remember; except that being very frequently as a familiar Acquaintance with the said Mr. *West*, he hath often asked him, and the said Colonel *Rumzey*, whether the great Men would do any thing, and whether any business would be done; or he used words to that effect, but they did constantly as this Examinant remembers answer him No, that nothing would be done; and the said Colonel *Rumzey* seemed (as this Examinant did apprehend) to be very shy of him this Examinant; and much like Discourse this Examinant hath had with the said *Goode-noughs*, but never was as he remembers acquainted with the prosecution or particulars of such a Design in the least. And one *Nathaniel Wade* also this Examinant hath had some such Discourse with, about freeing our selves from Arbitrary Power and Popery by a general Rising, but any particular ways and methods for the same, or otherwise, this Examinant never knew of, or was privy to. And further at present this Deponent cannot recollect.

Robert Blaney.

29 Jun. 83. Jurat. coram me

L. JENKINS.

The further Examination of Robert Blaney, July 1. 83.

WHO saith, That he saw *Ferguson* since the Earl of *Shaftsburies* death, in the House of one *Bourne* a Brewer, living in *Queens-street* over against the Lord Keepers; that it was about a quarter of a year since; that *Ferguson* was in a Night-gown, and therefore he believes he lay in that House; that the Discourse they had was about the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his death.

This Examinant saith, that about three weeks after the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had concealed himself, he saw him at a Merchants House, whose name he remembers not, but the House is in *Woodstreet*, near *St. Albans* Church, the corner House, having a little Yard before it, next door to a House that was one Mr. *Biddolphins*.

He saith, he knows nothing of the manner of the Earl of *Shaftsburies* Escape, nor of *Fergusons*, nor knows no other places but the above-mentioned, where either of them were at any time concealed.

He remembers that he was twice or thrice at the Sign of the Sugar-loaf, near the *Devil Tavern* with *Ferguson*, and once with another person, who he thinks was young *Shute*, about the time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* absented himself; but that *Ferguson* was not then disguised, but in the Habit he used commonly to wear, which was a Russet colour *Campane* Coat, and a brown short *Perewig*.

Thomas

Thomas Lee Dyer of Old-street, his Confession, 1, and 2 July, 1685.

I Having been often in the Company of Mr. John Atherton, he told me, about May last, that Mr. Goodenough must speak with me, and Mr. William Thomas. We went to the *Salutation Tavern* in *Lumbar-street*, Mr. Goodenough came to tell us and then drew out some Papers, (but I saw not what was in them) and there told us that our Rights and Priviledges were Invaded and that some Gentlemen had taken into consideration how to retrieve them or words to that effect; and did then ask us whether we were willing to assist, and then told us that the City and Suburbs were divided into Twenty parts, and did desire us to see what men we could get and told us, that we must discourse with them about a Forreign Invasion at first and if that took, then we might know of them, whether they would be willing to assist in their own persons, or by Money; Some time after we met Mr. Goodenough at the *Amsterdam Coffee-house* in *Bartholemew-lane*; I told him that I had acquainted Mr. Charles Bateman and he desired to speak with Mr. Goodenough. That Mr. Bateman told me I must have a care, and speak at a great distance that he was willing to assist, if he could see but a cloud as big as a mans hand and after I called on Mr. Bateman, and went with him to a Sea-Captains, and from thence to the Duke of *Monmouths* House in *Soho Square*. As we went, Mr. Bateman told me that the Duke had told him, that he was glad that ever he came acquainted with those Protestant Lords; and did assure me that the Duke was very right for the Protestant Interest and that we need not mistrust him and then we called to see Mr. Goodenough, but were too late. The same afternoon I went to see for Mr. Goodenough and found him at the *Dolphin Tavern* in *Bartholemew-lane* and I appointed him to come to the *Kings-head* in *Switbens-alley* in *Cornbil*; where he came and told me, that they were making ready and asked me what I had done in that matter? I told him not much, because I doubted they were not prepared with Money and Arms, he told me that they had both. I asked him what store of Money they had? he told me, Twenty thousand pounds, and then we went into company, and talked no more about that affair. Some days after I met with him again, and he told me, that he had seen Mr. Bateman, and that he hoped he would be very serviceable, and asked me what that *Southwark* man was? I told him he was very honest and willing, and that I had spoken with him, and he desired that he might speak with him. I called him, and they discoursed together alone, and after that he asked me, who that ancient Gentleman was, I told him, that he was an old Souldier and that his Name was *Franks*; he desired me to call him, and I did, and discoursed the matter, and he not hearing of it before, was a little surprized; but said, that he was willing to fight for Priviledge, which he thought was Invaded, but not for Religion. The next day I went to meet Mr. Goodenough at *Richards Coffee-house* at *Temple-bar*; there I met with Mr. Hone, and he had me over to the *Kings-head Tavern*, and there told me, it had been our great mischief, that there had not been an understanding betwixt the Cavaliers and us; that there were a great many brave men about the *Temple*, and that the job had been done upon the Black-Bird and Gold-Finch some time before, if it had

not been for an accident that happened at *Newmarket*. Soon after came in *Mr. Francis Goodenough*, and *Mr. Hone* told me that I might be free with him. We discoursed about the matter, he said they were making all things in a readines against their coming from *Windsor*, and that he thought they must get Three hundred Horse to seize them coming from *Windsor*. Some time after I met with *Mr. Richard Goodenough*, and asked him what readines things were in, he told me that in a few days he thought he should have an account how many men they could raise. I told him that I had spoken with *Mr. Rous*, and that he could help them to Arms for a Hundred men; and that a way was proposed how to raise a Thousand Seamen, if they would be at the charge of a Golden Ball to be played upon *Black-beath*. He asked me what the Ball would cost? I told him, I was informed about Twelve pounds. He said, if it were Forty, they would be at the charge of it. Then he desired to speak with *Mr. Rous*, and appointed to meet him at the *Kings-head* Tavern in *Swithings-alley*, and they met and went into a room apart, and afterwards we went to *Josephs* Coffee-house in *Exchange-alley*, and *Mr. Rous* told me, that he would see and get Ten Sea-Captains to manage that affair. The next day I met with *Mr. Rous* at the *Amsterdam* Coffee-house, there he spoke with two Captains, as he told me, and from thence he went with them to the *Angel* and *Crown* Tavern in *Thredneedle-street*, but I did not go with them. I saw him afterwards at the *Kings-head*, and he told me, he must have *Mr. Goodenough* go with him to *Wapping*, I acquainted *Mr. Goodenough* with it, and he told me, that that business of the *Tower* was left to some men, that understood those affairs better than himself, and that they must be in a readines to do all together; I asked him what that was, he told me they must Seize the *Tower*, and take the City, and secure the *Savoy* and *Whitehall*, and the King and the Duke. Sometime after I met *Mr. Francis Goodenough* in *Westminster hall*, he had me behind *Kidals* Coffee-house, and told me, that the Countrey-Gentry were ready, and said, he desired it might not be delayed long. The next time I saw *Mr. Richard Goodenough*, was at the *Kings-head*. I called at *Mr. Jenkes*, and understood that he had almost dined, and I left word that I was gone thither, and he came to me, and I told him I had spoke with one in *Old-street*, and that he was willing to assist with Money, and another in *White-cross-street*, that told me, that he would assist himself, and had Arms for Ten men, and *Mr. Goodenough* told me, that they were about Summing up their Men, and that they should be ready in a fortnight or less.

The Examination of *Hicks living in Friday-street London, taken before His Majesty the third of July 1683.*

WHo saith, that he did hear from *Wade* (as he thinketh) that the City was to be divided into parts, and that *Wade* told him, there would be a Rising of the Papists to cut all their Throats, to which he had answered, that he did not believe it; But that the Law of Nature taught him to stand upon his own defence. And that he the Examinant further adding, that this imported Evil and that he would not consent to it. *Wade* then replied, he the Examinant must perish then by himself.

The

*The Examination of Robert West of the Middle-
Temple Barrister at Law, taken the 23 June
1683.*

THIS Examinant saith, he having a general acquaintance with those of the City of *London*, that are commonly called *Whiggs*; observed about *Michaelmas* last a general discontent amongst them, by reason (as he apprehends) of the Elections that had gone before of the Mayor and Sheriffs, and of their apprehensions of the loss of their Charter: whereon this Examinant fearing that their hearts might transport them to commit some extravagancies, and to prevent his own Families being ruined by them, was very inquisitive to know whether any Insurrection might be designed. And this Examinant after some time, was inform'd by some persons, who at present he cannot remember, that an Insurrection was intended in *November* last in the City of *London*, but the particulars of it this Examinant was never acquainted with; and he heard soon after that the Design was wholly laid aside. And this Examinant further saith, That about the time His Majesty came from *Newmarket*, in or about *October* last, he heard that there was a Design to seize the King & the Duke of *York*; but this Examinant does not know the place where, nor the persons who were to act therein. And this Examinant further saith, that about the latter end of *October*, or the beginning of *November* last, this Examinant met with Mr. *Robert Ferguson*, whom he had been long acquainted with, and the said Mr. *Ferguson* gave this Examinant an account of the great miseries the people of *Scotland* lay under, and did believe the people of *England* would suffer the like, and Popery over run the Nation, unless the people themselves endeavoured to prevent it. And told this Examinant, that two ways had been thought on (but named not by whom) one by a general Insurrection in several parts of the Kingdom, and the other a more Compendious and safe way of taking away the King and Duke by some surprize in some Journey. To which this Examinant answered to this effect, to wit, That he looked upon the first method to be impracticable and full of hazard, the Militia, Navy, Forts, and Ammunition being in the hands of the Government, and the people as it were naked; and such an attempt might intail a long and Bloody War upon the Nation, and must end in the destruction of the King and Duke, or else it would be vain. And therefore the second method of taking them off by surprize was most rational, if there were a necessity of doing the one thing or the other. And this Examinant further saith, that after this discourse, the said Mr. *Ferguson* went into *Holland*, and after his return from thence, had several Discourses with this Examinant to the same effect, concerning the destroying the King and the Duke; and that there would be an opportunity shortly of doing it, either upon the King and Dukes going to, or coming from *Newmarket*.

This Examinant further saith, That soon after the said Mr. *Ferguson*,
Mr.

Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, Mr. *Richard Rumball*, this Examinant, and sometime Colonel *Rumzey* (so called) and Capt. *Walcot* met, sometimes at this Examinants Chamber, and sometimes at other places where they used to debate and consider of the method of putting the Design of Killing the King and the Duke in Execution.

And this Examinant further saith, That none of the persons above mentioned, save *Richard Rumball* only, was to act in person, in the said attempt, but the said *Robert Ferguson*, *Richard Rumball*, and *Richard Goodenough* undertook to provide the persons to make the said attempt, which persons were to be 40 at least, and 50 if they could procure them.

This Examinant further saith, That there was also a further debate what sort of Arms should be made use of in the Attempt: And it was agreed there should be Blunderbusses, Muskets or Carbines, and Pistols; but how the said Arms should be carried down, whether before-hand, or by the persons on Horseback, this Examinant does not remember they came to any resolution.

This Examinant further saith, that it was resolved some of the persons who were to make the Attempt should kill one or more of the Horses in the Kings Coach, and then one party should set upon the Coach and shoot into it, and another party fight the Guards; and if there should be occasion, a Cart should be overturned in the Road on purpose to stop the Coach.

And this Examinant further saith, that after the said Resolution above-taken, this Examinant was much troubled in his mind, and endeavoured to represent several difficulties and hazards in the thing, and the ill consequences thereof whether it succeeded or not, with an intention to have diverted the thing.

And this Examinant further saith, that after the Fire at *Newmarket*, and before the Kings return from thence sooner than was expected, this Examinant and the other persons above-mentioned met at this Examinants Chamber, where because they had no certain intelligence how long the King would stay there before his return to *London*, it was agreed, to the best of this Examinants remembrance, that the Attempt should be wholly laid aside.

And this Examinant further saith, that some short time after the Kings return from *Newmarket*, there being a Discourse at a Tavern in the City between this Examinant and the said *Rumball*, and one *John Keeling*, concerning the disappointment of their said attempt, in not having the Arms ready; and the said *Keeling* openly mentioning Blunderbusses, Muskets, and Pistols, this Examinant advised him to call the said Arms by the names of Swan-Quills, Goose-Quills, and Crow-Quills, that the Drawers might not take notice.

And this Examinant further saith, that at the same Tavern, the said *Richard Rumball* told this Examinant, and the said *Keeling*, that the King came by his House with a slender Guard of Six Horse, much tyred and that six men well provided might have made the attempt and succeeded in it.

And this Examinant further saith, That some short time after, it was agreed by this Examinant, the said *Ferguson*, *Rumball* and *Goodenough*, that some Arms should be bought to be in a readiness for any occasion: And because this Examinant was no otherwise capable to serve in any such Design, it was proposed to him and he undertook to buy

buy some Arms; and accordingly this Examinant bespake of one *Dast* a Gunsmith in *Sheer-Lane*, 30 Case of Pistols, 30 Carbines with Belts and Swivels, and 10 Blunderbusses, besides Bullets and Flints, on pretence of sending the same into *America*; but the same were not entred at the Custom-house till Tuesday last, although this Examinant did design to have done so six weeks before.

And this Examinant further saith, That being at a Tavern about three weeks or a month since with *Nathaniel Wade*, *Richard Nelthrop* and others, where the said Mr. *Nelthrop* was reading a Gazette, wherein there were Relations of Tumults at *Collogue*, abetted by one *Gulick*, the said *Keeling* came into the Room to speak with one of the Company; and Mr. *Nelthrop* in a jeasting manner called the said *Keeling Gulick*; whereupon the said *Keeling* said to this Examinant, *What think you for all your jeasting, if I and some few more of my Friends should save the City Charter and the Nation?* or words to this effect. To whom this Examinant replied, he would do very well to do so: but then asked him the manner how he would do it? To which he answered, That no body should know it till they had done; but hoped he should not be hanged for't: Upon which words this Examinant suspecting the said *Keeling* meant some extravagant thing, bid him take care not to do any foolish thing and ruine the Protestants.

And this Examinant further saith, That about *Easter* last some Discourses were had concerning the making some Attempt upon the King and Duke, between *Windsor* and *Hampton-Court*; but no resolution therein was ever taken to this Examinants knowledge or remembrance.

This Examinant further saith, That there was some Considerations lately had how to make an Estimate of the strength of the Protestant party, in case they should be put upon their own Defence; when it was agreed that the City and Subburbs should be divided into twenty parts, & that some person well acquainted in each Division, should enquire into and make a return of the number he should find; which returns are not yet made to the Examinants knowledge: And more this Examinant for the present saith not.

Robert West.

23 Die Junii 1683.

Capt. & Recognit coram me

L. JENKINS.

The further Examination of Robert West Barrister at Law of the Middle-Temple, the 24th of June 1683.

THIS Examinant saith, That he was informed of the Insurrection in his former Examination mentioned to have been designed in *November* last by *Thomas Walcot*, who told this Examinant that the same was projected by the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and was to have been put in execution the 19 of *November* last, but that he looked upon it as a mad thing, which he had no thoughts to engage in; and afterwards told this Examinant that it was wholly laid aside.

H

And

And this Examination further saith, That to the best of his remembrance *Francis Shute* lately deceased was the person who acquainted this Examinant that an Assassination of the King and Duke in their return from *Newmarket* in or about *October* last had been intended, and that he heard the same from *Mr. Ferguson*; and this Examinant asking *Mr. Ferguson* about it, the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, that it had not been thought of time enough, and therefore could not be done or words to that effect.

And this Examinant further saith, That he discoursing with the said *Ferguson* concerning the late intended Attempt upon the King and Duke in their return from *Newmarket*, asked the said *Ferguson* what care was taken to justify the same, if in case it took effect, for that the other party might in revenge shed a great deal of Blood, and immediately proclaim the Princeps of *Orange*, which would overthrow the whole Design. To which he answered me that care would be taken about it and that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and most of the Lieutenantcy should be secured. But when this Examinant desired to know what persons were to be concerned, he bad this Examinant ask no questions, for things would be managed well, as he said; and that if *London* was secured, all *England* would fall in.

And this Examinant further saith, that when this Examinant asked the said *Ferguson* whether any Declaration was prepared to be published upon such occasion? he told this Examinant that it had been considered of and was ready, and would be printed ready to be dispersed: but when this Examinant asked him how it should be done, he answered it was assuredly so, but this Examinant must ask no questions.

And this Examinant further saith, That before this Examinant bespake the Arms mentioned in his former Examinations, the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that he would give this Examinant money to pay for them, for he had five or six hundred pounds at Command, but he paid not the money to this Examinant till about three weeks or a month since and then paid it this Examinant in ninety three Guineys, but would not tell this Examinant of whom he had the said money. And this Examinant further saith, That the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that the *Scots* intended to make some Insurrection in *Scotland* this Summer, but were not well able to do so without the assistance of ten thousand pounds or some other great sum to buy Arms for them, which he had hopes of getting for them and that they expected, and he hoped they would be seconded by a party in *England* both in *London* and in the Northern and Western parts. And when this Examinant asked him what persons of Note would engage in it and what method they would use; He answered, *First let us sound our strength and if there be encouragement from that, you will not want men of Quality to take their Post, but you must excuse me from naming of them till there be occasion.* And this Examinant further saith, that though he frequently enquired whether any money had been paid to the *Scots*, he could not certainly be informed that any money had been paid.

And further saith this Examinant, that the Arms in his former Examinations particularly mentioned were directed by the Company then present to be bespoken.

And

And further this Examinant saith, That he hath been often in company with Mr. *Edward Norton* of *Dorsetshire*, as this Examinant doth believe, with *Nathaniel Wade* a Barrister at Law and *Francis Goodenough* an Attorney at Law, at the *Castle-Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, and at the *Green Dragon Tavern* upon *Snop-hill*; where some Discourses were held concerning an Insurrection in *Scotland* and of one in *England*, if there should be occasion or be thought requisite; at which time the said Parties last mentioned, declared they would not be wanting to act their parts therein. And this Examinant further saith not.

Robert West.

24 Junii Cap. & recognit.

coram me

L. JENKINS.

The further Examination of Robert West, taken by my Lord Keeper the 25th June, 1683.

His Examinant further saith, That *Robert Ferguson* in his two former Examinations named, told and sent this Examinant word by a Note, That if this Examinant would send to Major *John Wildman* (commonly so called) he would pay a hundred pounds for the Arms in this Examinant's farther Examinations mentioned to be bought by this Examinant; and this Examinant not being willing to speak with the said *Wildman* himself, sent *Richard Rumbald* to receive the money; but the said *Wildman* was gone out of Town before the said *Rumbald* did call at his house. And this Examinant further saith, That upon some discourse at one of the Meetings in his former Examinations mentioned, it was proposed, whether some of the chief Ministers of State, particularly the Lord Keeper, the Lord Marquess of *Hallifax*, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* that now is, should be killed and it was agreed that it was very necessary they should be killed; but no particular persons were appointed to do it, as this Examinant remembers, it being thought almost impossible for any of the said Ministers to escape. And further, this Examinant saith not.

Robert West.

25 Junii 1683.

Cap. & recognit. coram me

Fr. North, C. S.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West of the
Middle-Temple, Barrister at Law, taken
before Mr. Secretary Jenkins the 26th of June
1683.*

THis Examinant further saith, That some time in the last Spring, and to the best of this Examinants remembrance, whilst the King was at *Newmarket*, *Francis Shute*, late deceas'd, came to this Examinant with a Message from the Lord *Howard of Esrick*, as he told this Examinant, to this effect, viz. That the Lord *Howard* had a Project for raising a Body of Men to make an Insurrection and desired this Examinants concurrence and assistance in it; and shortly after, the Lord *Howard* and Mr. *Shute* came to this Examinants Chamber in the *Temple*, where the Lord *Howard* told this Examinant, That except some effort were made by the People towards saving their Liberties and Religion, all would be lost; or used words to that effect. And this Examinant telling his Lordship that he saw no way of doing so, that did not endanger the People more in case of a miscarriage, his Lordship told this Deponent, he had thought of a method feasible in his opinion, and it was this, to the best of this Examinants remembrance, viz. That Ten men of Skill and Conduct in Martial Affairs should meet and each chuse to himself ten men whom he might use, that every of these ten should raise 20 men, so as to make up a Body of two thousand men: that empty Houses should be taken for these men, as near the several Gates of the City and other convenient Posts as could be: that the night before the Execution intended, the Men should be got into those Houses, and acquainted with the execution; such as refused should be clapt into the Cellars, and the rest fallly out at the most convenient hour, and seize and shut up the Gates, and then demand the Inhabitants Arms: and he doubted not but they would deliver them and People enough come into assistance. His Lordship named Col. *Rumzey*, Col. *Danvers*, Mr. *Clare* and three others whom this Examinant hath forgotten, for six of the principal Ten, and desired this Examinant to speak to them to consider of the Project and fill up the number of Ten; but this Examinant having no mind to engage in it, onely told Col. *Rumzey* of it and none other of the Parties above-named, who told this Examinant he would not meddle in it, and advised this Examinant to proceed no further; and when the said Lord *Howard* came to this Examinant for an answer, this Examinant told his Lordship, that he could meet with no encouragement; whereupon his Lordship replied he could make as good a shift as other men, and he would trouble himself no further and came not since to this Examinant.

And this Examinant further saith, That the Lord *Howard* at another time told this Examinant at a Tavern in the City, That he thought it no difficulty with 500 Horse to surprize the King, Duke and all the Court at *Newmarket*, by beating up their Quarters about break of day; but this Examinant told the said Lord *Howard* it was impossible to get such a Body to so great a distance unobserved, at which his Lordship seem'd convinc'd.

And

And this Deponent further saith, That the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, That the Arms to be bought with the said 10000 *l.* lay ready provided in *Holland* to be Transported for *Scotland*, and that the Earl of *Argile* would go over with them and Head the *Scots* in Person; and that one English Lord offered to pay the whole 10000 *l.* by Mortgaging his Estate, if the rest of the Managers would have secured him their proportions. But he should not name the Lord's Name then but since the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant it was the Lord *Grey*. And further this Examinant saith not.

26 Junii 83. Capt. &
Cognit. Coram me

Robert West.

L. Jenkins.

The further Examination of Robert West of the Middle-Temple Barrister at Law.

THis Examinant saith, That he was informed by Mr. *Ferguson*, and to the best of his remembrance by Colonel *Romzey* likewise, That the late Earl of *Shaftsbury* advised the Duke of *Monmouth* when he went into *Cheshire* in *September* last, That if his Grace were attended with a good appearance of Gentlemen and Free-holders there, his Grace should set up and declare for a Free Parliament. And that when his Grace was taken into Custody by a Messenger, the said Earl of *Shaftsbury* advised that the said Messenger should be killed and his Grace return into *Cheshire* and declare as above or else Post into the West of *England* and set up there. But his Grace and the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* were of another opinion, viz. That his Grace should Surrender himself which his Grace did accordingly.

And this Examinant further saith, That since the Insurrection intended in *November* last was laid aside, this Examinant was informed by Colonel *Romzey*, that one great reason of its being laid aside, was, that one Mr. *John Trenchard*, on whom there was a great Reliance for a considerable body of Men in the West, viz. at *Taunton*, would not undertake to procure such a Body, for which he was much reproached by the Lord *Grey*.

And this Examinant further saith, That some time before Mr. *Ferguson* went over into *Holland*, the said *Ferguson*, this Examinant and one Mr. *John Roe* late Sword-Bearer of *Bristol* were together at the Young Devil Tavern in *Fleet-street*, where some Discourse was had concerning the killing the King and Duke of *Tork* and of a general Insurrection; but this Examinant cannot remember any particular passages of that Discourse.

I

And

And this Examinant further saith, That after the said *Ferguson* went for *Holland*, viz. about *Christmasts* last, Colonel *Romzey*, this Examinant, *Richard Goodenough* and the said *Roe*, several times met and discoursed concerning the said Design against the King and Duke; as also of a general Insurrection, which they distinguished by the names of the *Lopping Point*, and *General Point*: One of which Meetings, to the best of this Examinants remembrance, was at this Examinants Chamber in the *Temple*, where were present besides Colonel *Romzey*, this Examinant, the said *Goodenough* and *Roe*, Mr. *Joseph Tyley*, Mr. *Edward Norton*, and Mr. *Richard Nelthrop*. And the said Mr. *Nelthrop* approved of an Insurrection, but always expressed a Detestation of the Design to kill the King and Duke, as a base ungenerous thing: But the said *Roe* declared, he would be one to execute it rather than it should fail to be done.

And this Examinant saith, That at some or all of those Meetings it was discoursed in what place, and in what manner the said Design against the King and Duke should be put in execution; and it was proposed to be done either in the Play-house, by planting Men in the Pit about the King's Box, armed with Pistols and Pocket-Blunderbusses, who between the Acts of the Play should make the Assault; or in their return from the Play-house by night under *Bedford Garden Wall*; because of the convenience for one part of the Assaultants walking unsuspected in the *Piazza* and another walking so in the Square within the Rails, and another being about the Church-Porch, who upon the first Assault might prevent Assistance to the King out of *Covent-Garden*: Or else it might be done as the King and Duke were passing down the River in a Barge, either by over-running their Barge with a Hoy, or else Boarding their Barge, and shooting a Plank or two out of the bottom with Blunderbusses, and so to sink it; but both these ways were looked upon as very hazardous and probable to miscarry, and therefore neither was agreed on.

And this Examinant further saith, That in the last *Christmasts* Holy-days, Colonel *Romzey* invited this Examinant, and several others to Dinner at his House in *Kings-Square* in *Sohoe Fields*, where Dined this Examinant, Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, Mr. *Francis Goodenough*, Mr. *Roe*, Mr. *Blaney*, and to the best of this Examinants remembrance, Mr. *Joseph Tyley*, and some Discourse was then had of the said Design against the King and Duke, and of a general Insurrection, which this Examinant proposed to them being Lawyers to call and distinguish them in this manner; The Design of Killing the King and the Duke, *Executing a Bargain and Sale*, which was a short manner of Conveyance: And the general Insurrection, *By the executing a Lease and Release* which is a longer Conveyance, which Distinction was received, and often afterwards made use of; but the same *Blaney* was never afterward, as this Examinant remembers, at any other Meeting.

And this Examinant further saith, That some short time after *Christmas* last, this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Walcot*, and Mr. *Rumbold* met at the Salutation Tavern in *Lumbard Street*, where it was Discoursed, that some Preparations ought to be made against the time, that either the said Design against the King and Duke, or a general Insurrection should be put in Execution: And it was agreed,

greed, That *Ferguson* should be sent for Home, and that *Ludlow* should be sent for if it could be, and that Blank Commissions should be drawn up for Officers both Civil and Military and a Model of Government; but there was some doubt in whose Names those Commissions should run, and at last it was proposed (but this Examinant does not remember by whom) that they should run in the Name of the Confederate Lords and Commons of *England*. After which Meeting, this Examinant and Colonel *Romzey* went the same night, to the best of this Examinants remembrance or soon after to a Coffee-House in *Popes-head Alley*, to enquire for one Mr. *Thomas Shepard* a Merchant; for Directions how to send to Mr. *Ferguson* then in *Holland*, and there found Mr. *Shepard*. And this Examinant, by the consent of the said Colonel *Romzey*, wrote a sort of Cautious Letter to *Ferguson*, to invite him over for his Health, but there was no particular business in the said Letter; and the said Mr. *Shepard* sent it: But Mr. *Ludlow* was never sent for, nor any Commissions prepared, nor any Frame of Government drawn up to this Examinants knowledge, or as he ever heard of.

And this Examinant further saith, That about *Chrismas* last he was informed, to the best of this Examinants remembrance, by Colonel *Romzey*, that a design for a general Insurrection was carrying on, and was managed by a Cabal or Council, and that the said Cabal differed amongst themselves, and the business was like to be at a stand; but the persons of that Cabal, the said Colonel *Romzey*, did not then give this Examinant any account of: But the said Colonel *Romzey*, this Examinant and *Nathaniel Wade* agreed to draw up some few Fundamentals, which they thought reasonable, and the said Colonel *Romzey* to present the same to the Lord *Russel*, for him to present to the Managers or the Duke of *Monmouth*, which they did accordingly, but the same were rejected, as the said Colonel *Romzey* told this Examinant, and this Examinant hath no Copy of them.

And this Examinant further saith, That about *Hillary Term* last, this Examinant was informed by Mr. *Joseph Tyley*, and since by *James Holloway* of *Bristol*, that there was a considerable Party in *Bristol*, well provided for, and almost impatient for Action, and had laid a rational Design, if they could be seconded in other places.

And this Examinant further saith, That he was informed by Mr. *Richard Nelthrop*, that Colonel *Sidney* had sent *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland* with Letters to Sir *George Cambel*, and Sir *John Cochran*, or one of them, upon pretence of a Purchase of Land in *Carolina*, but in truth, to get them up to *London*, in order to settle matters for a Rising, or words to that effect: and that the said Colonel *Sidney* gave the said *Aaron Smith* Four score Guineys, or some such Sum for his Charges: And Mr. *Ferguson* hath since told this Examinant, that the said *Aaron Smith* behaved himself very indiscreetly in the said Journey, and run a hazard of discovering the Design.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Ferguson* often told this Examinant, that it was agreed between several *Scots* and several Persons of Quality here in *England*, that the *Scots* should have 10000 *l.* from hence to buy Arms, and then should Rise in *Scotland*, and be seconded here by an Insurrection in *England*, or if the *English* would help the *Scots* to 30000 *l.* they would attempt a

Rising

Rising in *Scotland*, without being seconded in, or further assisted from *England*. And that the 10000 *l.* was to be paid this day and that day, but at length the 10000 *l.* sunk to 5000 *l.* but the *Scots* were resolved to Rise though they had nothing but their *Claws* to fight with, rather then endure what they did. And about three Weeks or a Month since, the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that Colonel *Sidney* and Major *Wildman* had used the *Scots* ill and broken with them after making them attend two Months; and the reason they broke upon was, That the *Scots* would not agree to declare for a Commonwealth and the extirpation of the Monarchy, but that the said *Ferguson* had hopes of raising the Money otherwise, but would not tell this Examinant how; neither could this Examinant ever be certainly informed whether any part of the said Money has been paid to the *Scots*. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *John Roe* hath told this Examinant, that he the said *Roe* was acquainted with some Scotchmen here in *London*, who informed him that there were 2000 or 3000 *Scots* (many of them *Bothwel-Bridge* Men) who were Journey-men and Pedlers in and about *England*, and were under the order and management of ten or twelve Scotchmen in *London*, who could in a Month or six weeks time draw in all up to *London*; and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had a great command of these men.

And this Examinant further saith, That about three Months since or thereabouts, this Examinant being upon the *Exchange*, met with Major *Wildman*, who told this Examinant for News that the Marquess of *Huntly* and Earl of *Dowglas*, two eminent Papists, were reported to be made General of the Forces, and Governour of *Sterling* Castle in *Scotland* and that a Resumption or Repurchase of the Abby Lands was going to be made there. Whereupon this Examinant told the said Major *Wildman*, That he this Examinant had a Plantation in *America* where the Churchmen never had Footing, and would go thither if he was driven from hence. To which the said Major *Wildman* replied, Keep here, and don't talk of being driven out, drive them out hence. And this Examinant saying, He did not see how that could be done: The said Major *Wildman* returned, it may be done, and must be done, and shall be done; or used words to that effect.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Rumbald* told this Examinant not long since, that Major *Wildman* had shewed him a Paper in the nature of a Declaration or Remonstrance, which he intended to have Printed and Dispersed among the People at the time of the intended Insurrection; and that he the said *Wildman* had formerly encouraged the said *Rumbald* in the attempt upon the King and Duke in their way to or from *Newmarket*, but afterward seemed to discourage him.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Fire happened at *Newmarket*, and this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, *Walcot*, *Ferguson*, *Rumbald*, and *Richard Goodenough* had met twice, and resolved to let making any Attempt upon the King and Duke alone. The said *Ferguson* on Saturday or Sunday before the Kings return, borrowed Forty Gunies of Colonel *Romzey*, as the said Colonel *Romzey* and *Ferguson* have since told this Examinant, in order to set the same on work, but did nothing in it; and hath since repaid Thirty Gunies, if not the whole Forty Gunies to the said Colonel *Romzey*.

And

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Kings return from *Newmarket*, the said Colonel *Romzey*, this Examinant, *Ferguson*, *Rumbald*, *Goodenough*, and *Walcot*, as this Examinant believes, met at the *George and Vulture Tavern* on *Ludgate-hill*, where the Arms in this Examinants former Examinations mentioned and the Sorts and Sizes thereof were agreed upon: And the said *Ferguson* told the Company that one was employed to see for some Convenience between *Hampton-Court* and *Windsor*, to make the Attempt upon the King and Duke, but he never made any Report of the Message, though he was pressed to it by this Examinant and others, being then wholly intent, as this Examinant perceived, upon Managing the Scotch Insurrection.

And this Examinant further saith, That soon afterward there were several Meetings between all or most of the Parties abovementioned, at the *Castle Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, and *Green Dragon Tavern* on *Snow-hill*; but this Examinant doth not remember any particular Discourse at any of the said Meetings, other than concerning the Progress of the Scotch preparation towards an Insurrection.

And this Examinant further saith, That there was since proposed making an Attempt upon the King and Duke in their return from the Dukes Play-House in the narrow part of the Street, but the same was wholly rejected and this Examinant never heard of any Attempt designed to be made upon the King and Duke at a Bull-Feast, nor never heard that a Bull-Feast was to be had till about Ten or Eleven days since.

And this Examinant further saith, That the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that the Insurrection in *England* intended to second that in *Scotland* would be in this manner, *viz.* That one Party should be up in the West at *Bristol*, *Taunton*, and thereabout, another in *Torkshire* at *Tork*, another in *Cheshire* at *Chester*, and if it could be done, another in *Devonshire* at *Exeter*; in every of which places some Persons of Quality would appear, but named them not; and that the main Push was designed at *London*, and was ordered thus; *viz.* That several parties should at once Attack the *Tower*, the *Guards* and the *Exchange*, the *Mews*, the *Savoy*, and *White-Hall*, and one at *Westminster* should fall upon the back of *White-Hall*, that a Party of Horse should be laid at *Staines Bridge* to way-lay the King and Duke if they went towards *Windsor*, and another Party of Horse to way-lay them in their Road to *Portsmouth* if they went thither; that the Mayor and Sheriffs should be seized but the Design was not to be Communicated till it was ripe for Action; and added, that he hoped the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Russel* might be prevailed with to appear in *London*.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Scots were disappointed of the Money promised to them the said *Ferguson* would have had this Examinant to have met and discoursed with Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, but this Examinant refused to do so; and he once asked this Examinant to wait upon the Duke of *Monmouth* but this Examinant refused that also.

And this Examinant further saith, That though the said *Ferguson* was shie of Naming Persons of Quality to this Examinant yet he always believed he meant the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Charleton*, Major *Wildman* and others, but

this Examinant never Discourfed with any of them himfelf. And Colonel *Romzey* about two or three Months fince to the beft of this Examinants remembrance told this Examinant that the Lord *Howard* of *Efcrick*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hampden* Junior, Major *Wildman* and others whom this Examinant hath forgotten were Managers of the De-
fign.

And this Examinant further faith, That *Richard Rumbald* was commonly called *Hanibal* by reafon of his having but one eye, and that it was ufual at the Meetings above-mentioned to Drink a Health to *Hanibal* and his Boys and this Examinant believes the Ninety three Guineys in this Examinants former Examination mentioned to be paid to him by the faid *Ferguson* for the Arms were given to him by Mr. *Charleton*, for that the faid *Ferguson* had before told this Examinant, that he fhould have the faid Money when Mr. *Charleton* came to Town, and when the faid *Ferguson* paid the faid Guinies to this Examinant he told him he had not them in his Cuftody above half an hour, and this Examinant met the faid *Charleton* going from him when this Examinant came to him.

And this Examinant further faith, That about five Weeks fince after the faid Treaty with the Scots feemed to be broken off, this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Walcot*, Mr. *Wade*, Mr. *Norton*, *Richard Goodenough*, and *James Holloway*, met at the Young Devil Tavern between the two *Temple Gates*, where it was agreed to divide the City into feveral Parts and to give the feveral Parts to feveral Perfons to examine what Force might be Raifed in every one of them, and if 3000 Men could be Raifed for the firft Onfet it was thought fufficient encouragement to venture upon an Infurrection, and it was not doubted but 20000 Men would fall in if the firft Onfet had any fuccefs; and in order to this a large Map of the City and Suburbs was bought and hung up in this Examinants Chamber, where Mr. *Wade*, *Holloway*, and Mr. *Francis Goodenough* divided the City and Suburbs into Twenty Divifions, which were to be Managed thus: One principal Man in each Divifion fhould employ Fourteen or Fifteen under him and give them their particular Walks, fo that they might not interfere one with another and be deceived in their Numbers. Thefe were to provide Ten men apiece at leaft, fo that 150 Men in each Divifion would make 3000 out of the Twenty Divifions and what was over might be kept for a Referve, but there was no particular Method as this Examinant remembers agreed upon to ufe thefe Men, but was deferred till the Number was certain, after which Divifion fo made the faid *Richard Goodenough* by reafon of his general Acquaintance undertook to find out Men to act accordingly, and fome fhort time after the faid Parties above-mentioned met at the *Green Dragon* Tavern, where the faid *Goodenough* declared he had employed feveral Perfons from whom he hoped to have a good account in a little time, and the next Week after the faid Parties above-mentioned and one Mr. *Zachary Bourn* a Brewer whom the faid *Goodenough* had employed in it, met at the Salutation Tavern in *Lumbardstreet*, but this Examinant came not thither till the company juft broke up, and did not hear what paffed there: And about a Week after the fame Parties except *Holloway* (who was gone to *Bristol*) met again at the *Green Dragon* Tavern on *Snow-hill*, where the faid *Goodenough* reported that he had an account

of 1300 Men out of Two of the Hamlets, and that *Southwark* would yield more and *Spittle-Fields* a great Number but had no particular account of other places.

And this Examinant further saith, That about Three Weeks since *Richard Rumbald* told this Examinant that he suspected *Mr. Keeling* had discovered all the Designs, as well that of the intended Assassination from *Newmarket* as the other Design then on foot and that if he were sure of it he would take care to get him knock'd on the Head, but was unwilling to do so till he were fully satisfied and about a fortnight since the said *Rumbald* told this Examinant that he had several Reasons to convince him that the said *Keeling* had made a Discovery, and but that he made so many Protestations and Imprecations to the contrary he would kill him. And this Examinant hath heard from *Mr. William Rumbald*, that he lent the said *Keeling* an Hundred pounds on Saturday was Sevenight last, lest the said *Keeling* should be tempted by want of Money, which he then pretended to labour under. And on Monday was Sevenight last this Examinant was informed by the said *Mr. William Rumbald* that the said *Keeling* was with Persons that Afternoon, some of whom he believed would have killed the said *Keeling* if he had not deceived them by many imprecations that he had made no Discovery. And this Examinant further saith, that this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, *Mr. Wade*, *Mr. Nelthrop*, *Goodenough* and *Norton* had notice on Sunday was Sevenight last, by means of the said *Keeling's* Brother that the said *Keeling* had made a Discovery, and thereupon they resolved to meet early the next morning in order to their Escapes and according to their appointment met in *Goodmans-Fields*, where they endeavoured to hire a Boat for *Holland*, whither all except this Examinant were resolved to go, but by reason they could not get clear of *Gravesend* before five or six a Clock on Tuesday Night, and so might be taken, they laid aside that Design and every one shifted for himself.

And this Examinant further saith, That when this Examinant was much dejected, and refused to go for *Holland*, most of the Company and particularly Colonel *Romzey* looked wistfully in this Examinant's Face, as if they suspected Treachery in this Examinant. Whereupon this Examinant told the said Col. *Romzey*, this Examinant if he were taken, would not save his Life unjustly, and instanced that he had never spoke with the Duke of *Monmouth* and could say nothing against him and would not do Injustice to the Colonel but rather give his Right-hand to serve him; which Complement the Colonel returned and so parted and there was no agreement between all or any the Parties above-named to favour one another and further this Examinant saith not.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West of the
Middle-Temple Barrister at Law before the
Lord Keeper the 27 June 1683.*

THIS Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Richard Rumbald* and a party of his Friends about Ten years since designed and were prepared to have killed the King and Duke of *York* in their Journey to or from *Newmarket* and lay in Ambush for that end, but the King and Duke went an unusual Road through the Forest that time, which they never went before or since, and so escaped them; and the said *Rumbald* also told this Examinant that he once had a mind to have taken one of the Cellars under the Duke's Play-house, and by placing Barrels of Powder there have Blown up the Play-house when the King and Duke were there; but the consideration that a great number of other innocent People must have perished in it diverted him from it, though a Friend to whom he communicated the design endeavoured to over-rule that objection by saying, *What have the Jack-Daws to do amongst the Rooks?*

And this Examinant further saith, That at some Meeting, before or about *Christmas* last there was a discourse concerning Surprising some Garrisons in case of an Insurrection and it was proposed for *Portsmouth*, that some Gentlemen should go into the Town and Treat the Officers of the Garrison who in that bad Air were apt to accept of an Invitation and drink plentifully, and that in the height of their drinking a party of Men who might be brought into Town on a Market-day in Country mens Habits should Surprize the Guards, who likewise to that end should be Treated and it was thought the Townsmen who were uneasy under the Insolencies of the Garrison would be apt to close in and assist in the Enterprize. *Pendennis Castle* was also mentioned as a place naked and easily seized and that might be of great use: And this Examinant doth not remember any thing said about *Hull*, but Mr. *Ferguson* lately told this Examinant, that he had good assurances of having *Newcastle*.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the intended Insurrection in *November* last was laid aside, *Ferguson* to the best of this Examinants remembrance told this Examinant that the Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent Mr. *Walcot* to Sir *William Courtney* in *Devonshire*, to engage him in an Insurrection and to joyn with some Person of Quality if it should be thought fit to send one thither, but Mr. *Walcot* returned without any encouragement from Sir *William Courtney*: And though this Examinant knew that the said Mr. *Walcot* took a Journey into *Devonshire*, yet the said Mr. *Walcot* kept the business of it close from this Examinant and would own only making a visit to a Friend.

And this Examinant further saith, That the Places usually resolved on for places of Rendezvous in case of an Insurrection in *London*, were *Saint James-Square*, *Covent-Garden*, *Lincoln-Inn-Fields*,

Fields, Smithfield, the Royal-Exchange, St. Georges Fields in Southwark, Goodmans-Field, Spittle-Fields and Moor-Fields, where the Arms in the Artillery Ground were to be Seized.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Roe* told this Examinant, That he had Discoursed with one Mr. *Hicks* a Tobacconist, an Anabaptist Preacher, a great Ringleader of the Anabaptists; and that the said *Hicks* had told him, that the Anabaptists could, and he believed upon a good consideration would make up an Army of 20000 Men, and 1500 of the 20000 would be Horse; and though perhaps there would be a necessity of making use of some great Men at the beginning (and this Examinant thinks he mentioned the Duke of *Monmouth*) yet when the Anabaptists were once up, they would not lay down their Arms, till they had their own terms.

And this Examinant further saith, That to the best of his remembrance he was informed by Colonel *Romzey*, that the Managers of the general Insurrection had one or more Meetings at the House of Mr. *Thomas Shepard* Merchant in *Abchurch-Lane*, or *St. Clements-Lane* in *Lumbardestreet, London*; and that if the Money were paid to the Scots, the said Mr. *Shepard* was to return it into *Holland*: and this Examinant, to the best of his remembrance, once to twice asked Mr. *Shepard*, whether any Money were paid? who answered, it was promised several times, but he had not any assurance of its being paid. And this Examinant believes, the said Mr. *Shepard* did know of the intended Assassination of the King and Duke, but doth not remember that this Examinant had any particular Discourse with the said Mr. *Shepard* about it, the said *Shepard* having failed to meet this Examinant, Col. *Romzey*, and others, several times when he had promised to do so.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Ferguson*, to the best of this Examinant's remembrance, told this Examinant since the King went to *Windsor*, that there had been some thoughts of Surprizing *Windsor* with 500 Horse, but upon consideration, it seemed impracticable, but he named no Persons to this Examinant.

And the said *Ferguson* desired this Examinant, to speak to Mr. *Richard Goodenough* to meet Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, which this Examinant did; and this Examinant believes, the said *Goodenough* and Sir *Tho. Armstrong*, have had several Meetings, and the said *Goodenough* hath Communicated to Sir *Thomas Armstrong* the design last carrying on for Raising 3000 Men out of the Twenty Divisions of the City and Suburbs, and the Progress that was made in it.

And this Examinant further saith, That at one of the Meetings concerning the last mentioned Design, Mr. *Richard Goodenough* Reported one Man (but would not name him) would undertake to bring 1000 Men out of the Hamlets, and if occasion were to give satisfaction, he would shew them all a Footbal Match or other Pastime, but the said *Goodenough* reported withal, that he found most Persons insist upon terms, and required to know what ease and advantage they should have in matters of Religion, their Liberties and Properties, and what assurance they should have of their being performed before they would actually engage in Arms, for they would not Fight to change Persons only, but Things; But whether any thing was done in order to give them such satisfaction, this Examinant knows not.

And this Examinant further saith, That the fundamentals in this Examinant's last Examination mentioned to be prepared by Mr. *Wade*, Col. *Romzey*, and this Examinant, were only rough drawn up by the said Mr. *Wade*'s own Hand; and this Examinant did not write them, nor had any Copy of them, because if they had been approved of, it was intended to have drawn them into form, and therefore this Examinant cannot set them forth exactly, but to the best of this Examinant's remembrance, the substance of them was to the effect following.

1. That the People should annually meet at a certain time to Choose Members of Parliament, without any Writ or particular Direction to do so.

2. That the Parliament should Meet at, and Sit for a stated time, and not be Dissolved, Prorogued or Adjourned, but by their own Consent, and that no Prorogation or Adjournment should hinder their Meeting before the day, to which they were Prorogued or Adjourned, if there were occasion.

3. That the Parliament should consist of a House of Lords, and a House of Commons, but the exact number of both or either of them, this Examinant doth not remember.

4. That only such Nobility should be Hereditary as were assisting in this Design, the rest should be only for Life, and upon their Death the House of Lords be supplied from time to time with new ones out of the House of Commons, but whether by the Election of the Lords, or of the Prince, this Examinant doth not remember.

5. The Militia should be in the Parliament, and the Parliament have the Nomination if not the Election of all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other greater or lesser Officers Civil or Military.

6. That what Acts passed in both Houses should be a Law for one Year without the Prince's Consent, and what Acts passed both Houses in two several Parliaments should be a Perpetual Law without his Consent.

7. That a Council to the Prince should be Elected out of the Parliament, a certain Number of the Lords to be Elected by the Commons, and a certain Number of the Commons to be Elected by the Lords, but the Number of the Council, or of either Lords or Commons to be of it, this Examinant doth not remember.

And this Examinant further saith, That before the said *Ferguson* went for *Holland* this Examinant pressing him to know, whether the Duke of *Monmouth* were acquainted with the Design against the King and Duke, and would not Hang all Persons concerned in it, if it succeeded, the said *Ferguson* said, *what if I get it under his Hand, that he shall not?* To which this Examinant answered, *It would be sufficient Satisfaction*; but when the said *Ferguson* returned from *Holland*, and this Examinant pressed him again to have Security fit to be relied on, he asked this Examinant, *Whether that were fit to be proposed to the Duke?* And this Examinant saying, *If he durst not propose it, he thought other Men ought not to venture upon it*: Whereupon the said *Ferguson* said, *That he had mentioned something concerning the King to the Duke of Monmouth, but not Assassinating him*; to which the Duke Answered somewhat sternly, *You must look upon me in the Capacity of a Son*; Which answer for some time dampt the Design, and
always

alwayes clog'd it: But at length it was resolv'd, that if the Duke did prosecute the Actors in it, that the Duke himself should be killed if it could be done. And this Examinant believes Colonel *Romzey* was present at, or made acquainted by this Examinant with the said Discourse.

And this Examinant further saith, That the said *Ferguson*, to the best of his remembrance, told this Examinant, that some thoughts had been formerly of making an Attempt upon the King and Duke the last *Lord Mayors* Day, either going out of the Coach into *Guild-Hall*, or in the Hall at Dinner (which might be done with Men with Swords only) or in their return from thence at *Ludgate*, or *Pauls-Church-Yard*, but for the great-hazards in either of these ways, nothing was resolv'd on.

And this Examinant further saith, That this Examinant perceiving that little or no preparations were made for the last Designed Attempt in the *Newmarket* Journey, told the said *Ferguson* of it, to which the said *Ferguson* answered; That he should have a Sum of Money for it when things were fixt, but not else, for a Sum had been Deposited in a Mans hand (but named not whose) for the former designed Attempt in the *October* Journey, and though it was not made use of, it was not returned, and there was no asking for such Money again. And this Examinant further saith, That at one of the Meetings concerning the Attempt upon the King and Duke, this Examinant propos'd to the said *Ferguson*, that some of the Duke of *Monmouths* Servants or Dependants should be brought into the Action, which might be some security to the Persons engaged, or at least make the World think the Duke concerned in it, if he were not. But Mr. *Rumbald* did not care to engage with any of them, however this Examinant believes the said Proposal had been Communicated to some of them, for that this Examinant was told (to the best of his remembrance) either by Colonel *Romzey* or Mr. *Ferguson*, that Sir *Thomas Armstrong* offer'd to engage, if Colonel *Romzey* would; but the Colonel refus'd, and that in case of a general Insurrection, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* would the night before it attempt to kill the Duke of *York*, by going to him with a pretence to discover some Plot against him.

And this Examinant was informed by Mr. *John Roe*, That one Mr. *Gibbons*, who was or had been a Servant to the Duke of *Monmouth*, met the said *Roe* in *Covent-Garden*, or carried him thither, and there told the said *Roe*, that was a Convenient place to do the Trick in (by which this Examinant understood the Attempt upon the King and Duke) and that he the said *Gibbons* would engage to be otie in it.

And this Examinant further saith, That about a fortnight before the Kings return from *Newmarket*, when the Attempt was resolv'd on to be made, Mr. *Ferguson* told this Examinant, That the Duke of *Monmouth* and several Lords should be invited into the City to a Dinner the same day that the King was to return, so as they might be ready to appear in the City upon the Arrival of the News, and the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, that some preferment was designed for this Examinant, and desired this Examinant to consider and give a Note of such Lawyers as this Examinant thought

thought fit to be, and would accept of being Judges; but this Examinant only smiled at his vanity, and never gave the said *Ferguson* any such account.

Robert West.

27. Junii 1683. Capt.
& recognit. Coram me

F. North, C. S.

*The further Examination of Robert West of the
Middle-Temple, Barrister at Law.*

AND this Examinant further saith, That at one of the Meetings held for managing the business of the Assassination of the King and Duke in their *Newmarket-Journey*, there was some Discourse about getting the Arms down to Mr. *Rumbald's* House, and the said *Rumbald* first proposed to put them up in long Chests, and send them down by some Empty Carts from *Smithfield*, and afterwards he thought to make use of two trusty Watermen of his acquaintance, who should lay them in the Boat, and carry Oysters over them (as sometimes they used to carry Oysters) up *Ware-River*, and land them at, or near his own House; or else every Man was to carry his own Arms under long Coats: But no particular way was resolved on, but such was to be used, as should appear most safe: and at the same or some other Meeting for the same purpose, it was discoursed how the Men should get down unobserved, and it was thought best that they should go from *London* in the Evening, in small numbers, so as to arrive at the place about Midnight, and go into an empty House near *Rumbald's* own House, where their Horses should be put into a Barn, and be refreshed; and *Rumbald* was to send away his Servants early to Market, and his Wife and Daughter he resolved to Lock up above Stairs: But the greatest difficulty was, how these Men should get off after the Business was done; the Road might be full, and the party Cut off by some force that might come from *London*, and therefore *Rumbald* proposed, that if he surviv'd the Action, or were not disabled in it, to bring them a back way over the Meadows, and over *Hackney-Marsh* (to the best of this Examinant's remembrance) which he said was a very good way, and all of it to be Galloped, and by that means they might get to *London* as soon as the news could. Or else the said *Rumbald* offered that the party should retire into his own Yard, which was Walled in with a high Wall, and Moated round, which he would undertake to defend against any Force that could assault them, and before night he thought all would be dispersed and shifting for themselves, and the Road be clear to *London*,
but

but which Course he would take, was left to his Discretion, as the Circumstances of the Case should require.

And this Examinant further saith, That the several wayes proposed to surprize and take the *Tower of London* were these, to the best of this Examinant's remembrance; One was to send ten or twelve Men Armed with Pistols, Pocket-Daggers, and Pocket-Blunderbusses into the *Tower*, under pretence of seeing the Armory; another number should go to see the *Lions*, who by reason of their not going into the inner Gate, were not to have their Swords taken from them; that the persons who went to see the Armory, should return into the Tavern or Sutlers House just within the Gate, and there Eat and Drink till the time for the Attempt was come; that some persons should come in a Mourning Coach, or some Gentlemans Coach, to be borrowed for this occasion, under pretence of making a visit to some of the Lords in the *Tower*, and just within the Gate some of the persons issuing out of the Tavern should kill one of the Horses, and overturn the Coach so as the Gate could not be shut; and the rest of the persons within, and those who went to see the *Lions*, should set upon the Guards, that upon a Signal of the Coach driving down, a party of Men (two or three Hundred or more if they could be got, and were to be lodged in empty Houses to be hired for that purpose, as near the *Tower* as could be had) should be ready to rush out, and upon the noise of the first shot, immediately run down to the Gate, and break in. This way if at all put in Execution, was to be in the day time about two a Clock, because after dinner the Officers are usually dispersed or engaged in drinking, and the Souldiers loytering from their Arms.

Another way proposed was, that several Men should enter Actions against one another in *St. Katherine's Court* held for the *Tower Liberty* within the *Tower*, and that at the Court-day, at which time great Liberty is allowed to all Persons to come in, a party of Men should go as Plaintiffs and Defendants, and Witnesses, who joyned with some others, who should come in under pretence of Curiosity as abovementioned, should attempt the surprize, and be seconded by the Party from the hired Horses; and to the best of this Examinant's remembrance, a Coach was likewise to be made use of in this Case. And at one of the late Meetings for carrying on the last Insurrection, Mr. *Goodenough* reported, that an *Engineer* told the said *Goodenough*, that he would recommend some honest stout Fellows to be Labourers and Workmen in the *Tower*, who should be acquainted with the Design, and ready to assist in it.

Another way proposed was, to surprize it by night, but that was full of difficulty; and all that this Examinant remembers to have been proposed was, that a parcel of Faggots should be carried down to the Gate and fired, and to some other Part (this Examinant thinks the Water-Gate) if it were practicable, and a great quantity of Faggots should be prepared to throw into the Ditch, and to make up Works. That which most perplexed the business was, that to surprize the *Tower* by night, was very difficult, and to begin an Insurrection in the day time, was as difficult, and would lose many advantages that the night or break of day would afford; and therefore no resolution was taken: These were only the Debates of the

meetings of this Examinant, and the other Persons in this former Examination named, but this Examinant never heard what the Principal Managers considered of or resolved on in the Case.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Ferguson* used to go by the name of *Roberts*; and told this Examinant, he was to go for *Holland* with or soon after the Bill for the Money to be paid to the *Scotts*, and that the intention was to Land the Arms at *Edinburgh-Frith*, to the best of this Examinant's remembrance.

And this Examinant further saith, Mr. *William Rumbald* told this Examinant, that after it was violently suspected that Mr. *Keeling* had made a Discovery, but had denied it, it was proposed to Mr. *Keeling* for the satisfaction of his Friends, that he should go into the Country for sometime (where it was easie to Kill him and Bury him privately.)

And this Examinant further saith, That after it was certainly known that a Discovery was made, it was said by Mr. *Vvade* to the best of this Examinant's remembrance, that if a Thousand Men could be got together, it were better to venture a push here or in the *West*, and die like Men, than be hanged like Dogs: To which it was answered by Colonel *Romzey*, as this Examinant believes, It is in vain to think of it, the Hearts of the People are down, and our Great Men are good for nothing, or used expressions to that effect.

And this Examinant further saith, That on *Monday* was Sennight last, Mr. *Ferguson* perceiving this Examinant much dejected and Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Vvade*, Mr. *Norton*, *Goodenough* and *Nelthorp* in some Confusion, laught, and said to them, Gentlemen, you are Strangers to this kind of Exercise, I have been used to flie, I will never leave off as long as I live, and I hope to see some of you at *Dunbarr* before *Michaelmas*, or to that effect.

Robert West.

*The further Examination of Robert West of the
Middle-Temple, Barrister at Law.*

THIS Examinant further saith, That at some meetings concerning a General Insurrection; it was discoursed that a Body of Five hundred Horse would be necessary to scour the Streets, to prevent the Kings Party from embodying, and for Fighting the Horse Guards, or for a pursuit, and to that end it was proposed, that some endeavours should be used to bring up a Party of Horse from the Adjacent Counties, and that some means should be thought on to seize the Life-Guard Mens Horses in their Quarters, and the Citizens and Gentlemens Horses in the Livery Stables, and if there were success, and a great Body of Horse should be necessary, the great number of Hackney Coach-Horses in Town would make a good force. It was further proposed,

proposed, that Baricadoes should be made in several great Streets, and several Churches be used for lodging the men.

And this Examinant further saith, That at some of the said meetings it was reported, that the Kings Regiments of Foot had not their full Complement of men, but wanted a great number, and that the Officers used to lend one another men when they went upon the Guard, and therefore the Foot were not so terrible as might be apprehended.

And this Examinant further saith, That it was intended in the beginning of the general Insurrection in the *Year*, to send out a Party of Horse to seize the Marquess of Worcester, now Duke of Beaufort, and his eldest Son, and another Party to seize the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and some other eminent Men of that Party, if they were then in those parts.

And this Examinant further saith, That some time before Christmas last, he was informed by Mr. Roe, to the best of this Examinant's remembrance, that the Country expected the City would have been in Arms on Michaelmas-Eve, when the present Sheriffs of London and Middlesex were Sworn, and that he was Credibly Informed, that there were Five hundred Horse in the Adjacent Counties ready to be marched to their Assistance upon the first notice, and that they continued in a readiness for two days, expecting notice; but this Examinant doth not remember that he named any person from whom he had this Information.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. Ferguson told this Examinant, that some Nonconforming Ministers had told him, they suspected he was driving on a Design to Assassinate the King and Duke, and beg'd of him to desist; for that it would bring a Reproach upon the Protestant Religion, whatsoever the event might be, and that he was forced to assure them, there was no such thing intended: but alas, said he, they are weak silly men, and not fit for these things, who cannot distinguish between Destroying a Prince meerly for his Opinion in Religion, and Destroying Tyrants who Design to overthrow the Laws, Religion and all Civil Rights, and hate the Nation. It is a pious glorious Action, and such as will teach all Princes to use their Subjects kindly, or to that effect.

Robert West.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West of the
Middle-Temple, Barrister at Law.*

THis Examinant upon further Recollection saith, That after Capt. *Walcot* had acquainted this Examinant of the Insurrection intended to have been made in *November* last, the said *Walcot* came the second time to this Examinant, and told this Examinant, that the Lord *Shaftsbury* had prevailed with him to engage in it; and that if it proceeded he would engage in it, and desired this Examinant to buy for him, the said *Walcot*, a long stiff Tuck of some Cutler this Examinant knew, which this Examinant undertook and bespoke, but was so long before he could procure it, that the said *Walcot* had otherwise provided himself, and the Design was laid aside first, and this Examinant was forced to keep the said Tuck, the Cutler refusing to take it again.

And the said Mr. *Walcot* told this Examinant, to the best of his remembrance, that the Lord *Shaftsbury* had formerly sent for Sir *George Cambel* and Sir *John Cockran*, about settling a *Scotch* Colony or Plantation in *Carolina*, but he believed that was only a pretence, and that the real truth was to Concert Matters in order to some Design in *Scotland*; for the Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent for him, upon pretence of some Command in *Carolina*, but when he came, the Lord *Shaftsbury* was very cool in it. And this Examinant further saith, That the said Mr. *Walcot* refused a long time to act in any wise, in the Attempt upon the King and Duke in the *Newmarket* Journey; but at length, by the perswasion of *Ferguson*, as this Examinant believes, he undertook to Command the Party who were to Fight the Guards, or to be one of them, but refused to act in the Assassination it self.

And this Examinant further saith, The said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, that when the Earl of *Argyle* was in *England* last Year, he had offered to make a sturdy Commotion in *Scotland*, if he might have had but 6000 *l.* (for so low he came down from his first demand of 30000 or 40000 *l.*) but our Great Men were jealous of him then, and would not trust him, though he offered that they should employ whom they would themselves to lay out the Money in Arms, which he said was a great Oversight and Opportunity lost. And this Examinant believes, the Assassination of the King and Duke designed in *October* last, was Projected and Abetted by the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and that the Money in one of this Examinant's former Examinations, mentioned to be advanced for that Design, was advanced by the said Earl, because this Examinant had heard (but cannot say positively from whom) that the said Earl complained of having been ill used in that Matter, in the Money not being returned, though it was not laid out.

Information of Carleton Whitlock, 5 July 83.

MR. West some time in *Easter-Term* last, in the Court of Requests, told me, That some desperate Fellows had designed to have killed the King, or would have killed the King as he came last from *Newmarket*, if they had not been afraid that the Duke of *Monmouth* would have Hanged them. Upon which I told him, That it had been a villanous Action, and that all Mankind would have detested the Action, and the Murderers; and that if it ever had been in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Power, he would certainly have Hanged them for it, if they had done it. He told me afterwards, That there was a Design of raising a considerable Sum of Money to buy Arms, as I remember, in *Holland*; and that Major *Wildman*, Col. *Algernoon Sidney*, and *Ferguson*, managed the Business; and that my Lord *Russel* was very active in it, or Words to that effect: And that Writings were drawn, or drawing, or to be drawn, for the taking up of the Money; as I remember, he said *Ferguson* was to manage on the behalf of the *Scots*. This he told me at his House one Day, when I Dined with him; but upon my not Examining him to Particulars, he said nothing to me but thus generally: Only at his House he said, That some of them were for a Commonwealth, and others for Monarchy.

At Mr. *Shute's* Funeral, in the publick Room, *Nelthorpe* came to me, and asked me for something for poor *Ferguson*, as he called him; and told me, He was doing a good Work for all Honest Men. I told him, I would give nothing to any Man, for doing a Work I did not know of.

C. Whitlock.

Mr. Edmund Waller's Confession.

I Did once meet Mr. *West*, I do not know the certain time; and he rail'd so much at those he called *Protestant Lords*, that I asked him, If he would have them be Rebels? and told him, That such Men as he, and nothing else, could ruine the Kingdom. This was in the *Temple*, before the Hall. The last and only other time that I ever spoke with him in private, that is, alone (for we walked in the *Temple-Cloysters*) I met him there; and he told me, That some People, not naming himself as one, had had a Design to set upon the King (I am not certain, whether he named *Newmarket*) but he said, It was over. I went from him hastily, and only said, These things will Hang you, and undo a great many other People: As I remember, when he said, There had been such a Design; I told him, I did not believe it: and then he said, It was to have been done as the King came from *Newmarket*; and was going on to say more, but I interrupted him, and went away;

N

and

and I believe he was jealous of me; for he called after me, and said, There was no Danger. This was, as I think, the *Saturday* before this Conspiracy was spoke of in *Westminster-Hall*.

July 6th. 1683.

Edm. Waller.

Information of Zachary Bourn.

Richard Goodenough bringing Mr. *Ferguson*, alias *Roberts*, (for that Name he used to go by) to my House, it was a great while ere I understood any thing at all of the Design; but so many coming to him daily as did, made me jealous; I did imagine something of it. Upon which he took an occasion one Day to ask, What I thought about the Gentlemen that came so often to him? and then says; Admit there should be a Design on foot, for the Good of the People of *England*, Would you be against it? To which I answer'd, If I can do it with a safe Conscience, I could not tell well what I should be perswaded to. As to that, says he, I shall easily satisfy you: And then went on to prove a mutual Covenant between the King, and the People; that his Majesty had broke it on his side; so the People were again at Liberty. But to the Matter, says he, as indeed I will be plain with you; If you love your self, you must come in; for there is a Design on foot so laid, and so far gone, that it is impossible it should fail. Then I desired him, if he thought it convenient, to let me know some Particulars; which he said, He would, provided I would promise him Secrecy: but especially, I should say nothing to my Father or Wife; for he thought, I would not speak to any Body else: Upon which I said, I would. And then he was plain, as he said, and told me as follows:

That there was not a County in *England*, but had prepared for the Business, less or more, but especially in the *North* and *West*; and that they were sure of most Places of Strength throughout the Kingdom; but especially, *Bristol* and *Newcastle*: And that they were then a considering, how to secure *Portsmouth*; but were afraid they should not, the Garrison was so strong.

And that the *Scots* were to stir at the same time we were; and that we were to lend them 10000*l.* to be remitted into *Holland*, to buy Arms for them; and that he was to go over with the Bills of Exchange: That he found out a Person could deposite the Money upon good Security, which the Lords had promised should be given: That there was a *Dutch*-Merchant or two, that he had got to provide the Arms, for the *English* could not do it without Suspicion.

Then I asked him, Who the Lords were? He told me, There was the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Grey*, Lord *Russel*, and Major *Wildman*, and Col. *Sidney*. I told him, I wondred the Duke would be perswaded to take up Arms against his Father; for my part, I should be very

ry unwilling to trust him. He answer'd me, That he had the greatest Assurance in the World of him; and that I need no more be afraid of the Duke, than of him.

He told me, The Lord *Argyle*, who was to command the *Scots*, was of my Opinion too; for he had a few days before, sent a Letter to him, to be well satisfied in the Point; and that he had sent him such an Answer, as he did not doubt would satisfy him.

He told me, The Duke of *Tork* had Fourteen thousand Men in half pay about the Town: And for his part, he thought we ought to defend our selves; for we could not tell, but our Throats might be cut every Night. I asked him, How he could tell all this? He told me, That they had a great deal of Intelligence from the *Tory* Party; for there were some, that were willing to play a sure Game, and so keep in with both Sides. Some little time after this, there came one Mr. *John Row*, that was Sword-bearer of *Bristol*, with one *James Holloway*, of the same Place, a Merchant, to enquire for *Ferguson*; but he was unwilling to see them. Then *Row* asked me, to go and give him a Dish of *Coffee*; which I did: And *James Holloway* gave me an account of the Posture of Affairs at *Bristol*; which I wondred at, being the first time that ever I saw him, viz.

That they had been ready this two or three Months; that there was but Eight in *Bristol*, that knew of it; that he had had some Cannon he had taken out of some Ships he was concerned in, had lain there so long, he was afraid they would mistrust something: That he had great plenty of Powder and Bullet in his own House; and that they had a couple of Ships there, that would carry forty Guns a piece; which they intended to seize the first Rising, and fit out to Sea. And then their manner of getting together was thus: Some of those Eight had Houses out of Town, where they would get all of the Town they thought were for their Purpose: The Dissenters, under pretence of a Meeting; and the Others, under some Colour or other: And then tell them the Design; and if they would not go with them, they would secure or force them; and that they would seize all the Head Men of the Contrary Party, which were not above Thirty in all: And that they would post Men at the Corner of every Street; so that there should not a Man stir, without they pleased.

And that to their Assistance, they should have some Colliers out of *King-Road*, and some *Scotch* Pedlers that were about the Country; many of whom were of *Bothwell-Bridge*.

He said further, That the King would have by the Time they begun, a great many Thousand Pounds, that they should seize; and that there was a great many of the *Tory* Party, that had a great Summ of Money by them, which they must borrow: And that there was not a good Horse within Five Miles about them, but they knew where to have him: That they wanted but Two hundred Muskets; for they thought, they should have more Men than Arms, which he was come up about; which he hoped, the Lords would help them to: But if they could not, Mr. *Wade* would lend them the Money to buy them; and that he should pack them up in Parcels of Goods, and send them by the Carrier to his House. Mr. *Wade* told me himself, He would do it; that is, lend the Money; but it was some time after this. Mr. *Row* fate by, and approved what *Holloway* said to be true. After this I went down to the Wells, and staid about a Fortnight. When I came

Home

Home again, Mr. *Wade* came to me, and told me, I must promise Secrecy, and then he had something to say me; which was, That Affairs were settled every where very well, but in *London*: And though the Lords had a Design to let *London* alone; yet they saw there was a necessity, that the Business must be done effectually in *London*; for if they let that alone, it was enough to maintain a War against the whole Kingdom, and that their Friends here would be all ruined: and that in order to the securing of it, they had taken this Method, by which they might know their Strength. They had divided the *Town* into so many Divisions, and had got honest Fellows to consult what Men they might expect out of every Division; and that they had no Body about me, that they thought could serve them: and therefore desired me to think, if it was not possible to get about an hundred and sixty Men out of *Bloomsbury*, *St. Giles's*, *St. James's*, and *Soho*; and that I might, by way of Discourse, ask some of my Acquaintance, If there should be occasion to defend our selves, whether they could not find out Ten, or Fifteen, or Twenty Men, that would assist: That they should have a Meeting again in Two or Three Days; and then he would give me an Account of it, and I should go to them. And accordingly, on *Friday* following, being the Eighth of *June*, towards Evening, he came and fetcht me out, and carried me to the *Dragon-Tavern* on *Snow-Hill*; where I met Collonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Robert West*, Captain *Walcot*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Wade*, *Richard* and *Francis Goodenough*. Then I was asked, If I could not do what Mr. *Goodenough* had spoke to me about? and was desired, not to say any thing about the Business to any Body in direct terms, but especially to any of the Ministers; for *West* said, They were a parcel of Rogues, that had ruined the People ever since *Constantine*. I told them, I thought Mr. *Mead*, and Mr. *Lobb* might be trusted; and that they were, if they would, capable of serving them very much. But they would not hear it then; but the next Meeting, which was on *Monday* the 11th. Ditto, at the *Salutation* in *Lumbard-street*, they did think it was necessary Mr. *Lobb* should be spoke to, but not directly; which I did: For the next Day I went to him, and talking of the badness of the Times, I said, There was but one way to help our selves, and that was by Arms; and if we should have occasion to do so, I asked him, where he could find a good Parcel amongst his People, that he thought would stir? He told me, That the Spirits of the People were low; but he did believe, there was a pretty many of them, that would make use of an Opportunity, if it was put into their Hands: But he could see no Hopes of such an Opportunity as yet; we were too great Cowards. But I bid him not be out of hopes: And so our Discourse ended; for his Wife came in.

The next Meeting, which was on *Thursday* the 14th. Ditto, at the *Dragon* on *Snow-Hill*, *Richard Goodenough* brought in an Account of the Divisions he was concerned in; which was all the Town almost, but where I was; and at *Westminster*, where Mr. *Grange*, a Brewer, was concerned, but he ne're met with us; but *Goodenough* said, He promised Two hundred Men, and would be free of his Purse. At this Meeting, they resolved on This, which had been Consulted before, (for now they began to be sure of the Design; for they had a Probability of Eight or Nine Thousand Men, from the Account *Goodenough* gave in and others) That *Whitehall* should be secured

secured, and the manner thus: That the Men in *Westminster* should be ready to make an Attaque on that side, that they would get about 100 Sea-men that should come up in Long-Boats with Hand-Grana- does and should Attaque that part next the Water and that a Party of about 500 should come down by *Charing-Cross*, part of which should secure the *Mews*, and the rest march down and surprize the Guards in their sleep, for it was to have been about one or two in the Morning, and that all the Chief Ministers of State were to be secu- red, the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs and some of the Aldermen, another party to secure the *Savoy* and *Sommerfet-House*, and that in *Covent-Garden* and *Lincolns-Inne-Fields* were to be Bodies of Men to be ready to give assistance if need were, and that all the expedition imaginable was to be made, for now it was put into the hands of a great many, and there was danger of a Discovery. Mr. Goodenough told us that day that he had met with an Engineer that would do strange things about taking the *Tower*, and that he had six or seven Mortar Pie- ces that belonged to the *Tower*, and that he would take care to keep them this Month or six Weeks; at that time Mr. West said he thought I must secure my Neighbour, meaning the Lord Keeper, but I told him I would do no such thing as to fall on a Neighbour; truly he said he should be very willing to come to an account with him, and if he did he should put him in mind of *Colledge*. At this time Goodenough said the People that he had spoke of the Matters to, desired they might know what they must trust to, for if the Design was onely to change Persons they had as good have the Father as the Son, and therefore desi- red some Heads might be thought on and carried to the Duke to be signed by him the night before the Design began, and these Five things were resolved on

1. That the Militia should be in the hands of the People.
2. That they should choose their own Sheriffs in every County.
3. That we should have a Parliament once a year, and that they should sit as long as they had any thing to do.
4. That they should have Liberty of Conscience.
5. That all the Nobility of *England* that had acted contrary to the Interest of the People should be Degraded.

Mr. Wade was to put these in Writing, and to carry them the next Morning to Colonel *Romzey* who was to go to the Duke with them, which he did, and on Saturday the 16th. Ditto at the *George and Vulture* on *Ludgate-Hill* he brought us this Account, That he was to wait on the Duke twice before he could speak with him, but at last did, that the Dukes answer was, That all of them were things of moment, and that they could not be done without a Parliament but must be left to them; that he would do what lay in his power to- wards the obtaining them, but there being word brought to one *Lee* a Dyer in *St. Giles Cripple-Gate* Parish, that there was High Treason sworn against him and *Richard Goodenough*, Goodenough would not come to us that night, so this onely was concluded on, that we should meet on Munday at the *Castle-Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, and that some time on Monday Mr. Lee and Mr. Wade should go to Mr. West's Chamber to survey the Map of the Town to find fit places to meet in and give us an account at our Meeting, but on Sunday they had an account all was Discovered by one *Keeling* whom they had some suspicion of some days before; upon Monday Morning they met at

Captain *Tracy's* where Captain *Walcot* Lodged, Colonel *Romzey* came to my Houle and gave Mr. *Ferguson* and me an account of it, and took me with him to Captain *Tracy's* where they consulted how to retrieve the Business: Most were for pushing for it (and so to die with their Swords in their Hands; and another way was proposed I think by Mr. *West*, to kill *Keeling* and one Doctor *Butler* which I think Colonel *Romzey* named, who was said to be the person brought *Keeling* in to Discover, and that this would give them such a Blow would make them afraid: The manner of taking Doctor *Butler* was to be thus: Some men to go to him (as it was to be after the killing of *Keeling*) and undertake to give him an exact Account of the Murder and the rest of the Plot, and so to meet at a Tavern where was a convenient Room for the purpose, and there to have Assassinated him, but I left them in the dispute and went not again till Morning, when I came there they were all gone but *West*, who told me that one *Rumbald* and others had been in company with *Keeling* all the day before and he had perswaded them into a belief he had sworn nothing against any Man and so escaped from them, though this Morning they found to the contrary.

At one time talking to *Ferguson* about this Matter, he said nothing was to be expected from the Rich old Citizens, and therefore half a dozen of them must be taken out of their Houses and Hanged on their Sign-Posts and their Houses given as Plunder to the Mobile and that would scare the rest. Another time meeting *Roe* after the Fire at *Newmarket* a great while, he began to talk of the Design at *Newmarket*, which he declined when he found I was ignorant of it, but by him and others I understood afterwards that there was a Consult several times at *West's* Chamber against the Life of his Majesty, and that in order thereunto *West* had bought as many Arms as cost about 100 l. of a Gunsmith in *Sherre-Lane*, but the Fire happening prevented the Design. Another time talking with *Roe*, he said there was no way like Lopping, that was his Majesty and his Royal Highness; to which I answered, I never approved of such ways, and that he might do it himself for me if he would have it done, upon which he replied he would be one with all his heart, and that it might be done through or over my Lord of *Bedford's* Wall as his Majesty went to the Play-House, or as he went to *Hampton-Court* from *Windsor*. At another time I met *West* on the *Exchange*, and he told me the Lords were all a parcel of Rogues, and *Ferguson* a credulous Fool, for that they would Trick upon the *Scots* and us too, that he had laid out a parcel of Money for Arms, and that he could not get it again, which I told *Ferguson* when I saw him but he said he should have it. Some time after I met him in *Lincolns-Inne-Fields* and he told me that he had a Note to one Major *Wildman* for the Money and that he'd go for it next Morning, which he did, but the Major was gone out of Town. Some time after I went to Mr. *Owen's* in *Bloomsbury*, where *Ferguson* then Lodged and there I asked him about *West's* Money, he told me he had given it himself, for that it was sent to him just before Mr. *West* came in and he had given it him. On Monday they met at Captain *Tracy's*, Mr. *West* gave a Note to one *Tottle* to go to the Gunsmith to fetch the Arms he had bought, lest they should be found there and carry them with him to one of the Plantations, I think *New York*, which *Tottle* did then profer,

profer, if they would push for it he would not go his Voyage, though I think he said his Ship was at *Gravesend*, nor would he come alone, but undertake for a Hundred Sea-men and others presently.

The persons that used to come to *Ferguson* were *Sir Thomas Armstrong* very often, sometimes two or three times a day, *Colonel Ramsey*, *Captain Walcot*, *Mr. Wade*, *Mr. Norton*, *Richard Goodenough*, *Richard Nelsbrop*, *Mr. West*, *Mr. Charleton* with a wooden Leg, *Mr. John Freak*, *Mr. Blaney* once or twice, *Mr. Thomas Shepard* Merchant, *Sir Robert Rich*, *John Starkey*, (*Mr. Baily* a Scotch-man, and *Sir Camel*, and a great many more of his Country-men) and several from *Wapping*, all whom I know when I see, also *Mr. John Ayloff* used to come when he was in Town.

Ferguson told me of a certain person of Quality in that part of *Ireland* next *Scotland* that could raise Twenty thousand Men, and that he had promised it. I asked his Name but he would not tell me; he told me it was *Aaron Smith* was sent to *Scotland* about this business, and that he had like to have spoiled all, but that the person to whom he carried the Letter went to the Council and shewed them a Letter he had about some business of *Carolina*, and asked leave to come to *London* about it, and so got off this suspicion.

Zec. Bourne.

July the 6th,
1683.

Zec. Bourne's further Information.

THAT *Mr. Baily* the Scotch-man sat up one night with *Mr. Ferguson*, and he went several times with him to the Duke, and the other Lords, that *Ferguson* Lodged at several places a few nights at a time and so to my House again, at one *Mr. Bickerstaff*, a Sword-Cutler in *Covent-Garden*, at a German Doctors at the Green Posts in *St. Martins-Lane*, and *Mr. Owens* in *King-street* in *Bloomsbury*.

That we met at the *Salutation* in *Lombard-street* by the perswasion of *Captain Walcot*, for he said *Mr. Thomas Shepard* would meet us there, he went out of Town every night and so could not come further, that I have often carried Letters to the Exchange to *Mr. Shepard* from *Ferguson*, that he used to come often to my House to him, that I believe him to be the Man was to return the ten thousand pound, for *Ferguson* told me he had a great Correspondence with several Merchants in *Holland* and that he did return my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Money when he went over.

That

That Captain *Walcot* would have spoke to one Mr. *Collins* an Anabaptist Preacher (he Preaches somewhere in *Moor-fields*) that could assist us greatly, but they would not hear of it being a Parson.

Mr. *West* told me that Mr. *Ayloff* was at the buying the Arms in *Shear-lane*, and if at the buying, I suppose at the contriving the use for them; that two or three days before the Discovery was made by Mr. *Keeling*, thinking the business was pretty ripe, Mr. *Norton* was desired to write to Mr. *Ayloff* to come to Town which he did.

That *Ferguson* desired me to tell them one night when we met, that he must have a party to seize Mr. *L'Estrange*, for he should find strange Papers, and that great care must be taken to secure the Paper-Office at *Whitehal*.

Zec. Bourne.

THAT *Ferguson* told me that one Mr. *Owen* of *Grays-Inn* would give a hundred pound towards the Design, and further he told me that he was the Author of those two Libels, viz. *A Letter about the Black-Box*; And *a Letter concerning His Majesties Declaration*; that as he walked in the Fields at that time the Discourse was about the Black-Box, it came into his mind to write about it, which he did in an Ale-House in *Chancery-lane*, and that afterwards when His Majesties Declaration came out concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*, he finding no body took notice of it in Print, he resolved to write an Answer to that, which he said he did as he lay in his Bed one Morning, and further told me, he got one thrown on His Majesties Hat as he walked on the Tarras Walk at *Windsor*, and another laid under his Pillar, but would not tell me who it was had so disposed of them two for him; and farther told me that the Duke of *Monmouth* gave him fifty Guinies for that piece of service and so hath done every year since. Mr. *Betbel* that was Sheriff of *London* was once at my House with *Ferguson* and had some private Discourse with him.

Zec. Bourne.

The

The further Examination of Robert West of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at Law.

THis Examinant upon further Recollection saith, That at the Meetings for carrying on the Assassination of the King and Duke, it was resolved, that Sir John Moor the late Lord Mayor of London should be killed, as well as the present Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and that if the people did not pull him in pieces, his Skin should be scald off and stuf and hung up in *Guild-Hall*, as one who betrayed the Rights and Privileges of the City.

And it was further resolved that Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois should be declared Sheriffs, and Sir Thomas Gold or Alderman Cornish (but this Examinant thinks Alderman Cornish was pitch'd on as the brisker Man) to be Lord Mayor, and that they should be forced to take those Offices upon them, and if they refused should be knocked on the head. And Sir Robert Clayton and Sir Patience Ward who had behaved themselves like Trimmers in their Mayoralty, and neglected to repeal several By-Laws whereby they might have prevented Sir John Moor from being Lord Mayor, should be forced to appear publicly and own the fact, or else be knockt on the Head.

And it was further propos'd that most of the Judges should be killed or brought to Tryal for their Arbitrary Judgments, and their Skins stuf and hung up in *Westminster-Hall*.

It was further said by Colonel Rumzey, to the best of this Examinants remembrance, that though he was not for shedding much blood, there would be a necessity of taking off some of the chief Abhorrrers and Addressers in most Countries, otherwise they would be making head, but this Examinant was of opinion that a publick Declaration of safety to their persons and Estates if they would submit, was a better expedient and would win more upon the People: And it was further resolved that some of the principal reputed Pensioners in the late long Parliament should be brought to Tryal and Death, and that there Skins should be stuf and hung up in the Parliament House, as Betrayers of the People, and of the Trust. It was propos'd that Bishops Deans and Chapters should be wholly laid aside, but no resolution was taken concerning their Lands, because the present Tenants might be induc'd to submit in hopes of preserving them, and would be sure to struggle if they saw they must lose them, and those who had those Lands in the late times would be sure to engage in Arms for us or submit in hopes of having those Lands again. Some discourse was had of applying those Revenues, and of one half or two thirds of the Colleges in both Universities to publick uses in ease of the People from Taxes. It was further propos'd that it should be publickly declared to the people that they should be eas'd of the Chimney Mony, and have Toleration in matters of Religion, which was thought would engage all the meaner people: That *England* should be a free Port, and all Strangers who would should be Naturalized, which was looked upon as a means to engage Foreigners on our side, that there should be no Taxes for the future but the Excise and Land Taxes

Taxes which should be appropriated to particular uses, and all forfeited Estates should be applied so too.

And this Examinant further saith that this Examinant enquiring of *Ferguson* what Fond of Money was provided, it was answered by him and Colonel *Romzey*, that if the business were done and backt with success there could be no want of Money, there would be half a years Revenue of the Chimney Money then due besides what the Excise-Office and Custom-house will afford, and that there was Money and Plate enough among the Bankers and Goldsmiths which must be taken up upon Publick Faith if, there were occasion, and be punctually repaid again for the reputation of the Cause.

And this Examinant further saith that when *Walcot* agreed to engage in the said Action he desired his Name might be concealed whatsoever the effect of it proved; whereupon *Ferguson* replied no Man ought to be ashamed of it, for 'tis a glorious Action and such as I hope to see rewarded by a Parliament, and that the Actors in it shall have Statues erected to them with Inscriptions of *Liberatores Patrie*.

And this Examinant further saith that he acquainted Mr. *Thomas Shepard* Merchant that this Examinant had provided Arms in his former Examination mentioned, and that *Ferguson* promised to see for a convenience of committing the Assassination between *Hampton-court* and *Windfor*.

And this Examinant further saith that Mr. *Bourn* a Brewer between great *Queen-street* and *Parker-lane* was acquainted with the intended Insurrections, and hath talked with this Examinant about them, and declared himself ready to engage in an Insurrection, but not in the Assassination, and the said *Bourn* was knowing of the Arms bought by this Examinant, but was not at the Meeting when they were agreed to be bespoken; and this Examinant believes he acquainted Mr. *Carleton Whitlock*, Mr. *Edmund Waller* both of the *Middle Temple*, and Mr. *Holford* of *Chancery-lane* of the intended Assassination and Insurrection in *November*, but he did not do so till after the time for Execution was past: And further saith, that in the beginning of *October* last this Examinant met with Colonel *Sidney* at *Uxbridge*, where the said Colonel told this Examinant that many tricks had been plaid in the Scrutiny of the Poll for the Lord Mayor, and that Sir *William Prichard* was declared though not duly chosen, but said he, all that I can say to it, is what a Justice of Peace of *Essex* said lately to a Country Fellow brought before him for Killing a High-way-man that would have Rob'd him; Friend says the Justice you have done well, but you might have been Rob'd if you would; and so we may be enslaved if we will, or else need not, or he used words to that purpose, but this Examinant to the best of his remembrance never spake to the said Colonel since.

Robert West.

The

The further Examination of Robert West of the Middle-Temple Barrister at Law.

THis Examinant upon further Recollection saith that *Richard Goodenough* and *Francis Goodenough* formerly offered to act in the intended Assassination of the King and Duke if a sufficient number of Men could not be got to do it; but afterwards believing there were Men enough besides, they both declined it.

And this Examinant further saith, that at some of the Meetings concerning the said Assassination, Colonel *Rumzey* said it would be very convenient to take off Colonel *Legg* the now Lord *Dartmouth*, for he was a stout Man and of desperate Courage, and believed if he could get into the *Tower*, would in Revenge fire all the Gunpowder in the *White Tower*, which would endanger the whole City. And it was said concerning the Lady *Ann* Daughter to the Duke of *Tork*, that it would be best to Marry her to some small Country Gentleman and have a Breed only to keep out any Forrain pretenders to the Crown; and at one of the said Meetings, when it was discoursed whether the King or Duke should be killed singly, it was agreed, that *Rumbold* should send out a Spye before, who by some signs should give an account at a distance whether the King and Duke were both together or not, and at one of the said Meetings when it was designed that it would be convenient to take off some of the Chief Ministers of State, as the Lord *Keeper*, Lord *Halifax*, Lord *Hyde*; *Richard Goodenough* said, take the *Keeper* Prisoner, and Try him at *Oxford* for the Death of *Colledge*, and hang him upon the same Post on which *Colledge* was hanged.

And at one of the said Meetings this Examinant saying he was well enough Armed for one, for he had a good Musket Blunderbuss and Case of Pistols; the said *Rumbold* desired to see 'em, and finding 'em very good said he believed he must use the Blunderbuss in the Assassination, and told *Ferguson* he must Consecrate it if he should use it.

And this Examinant saith that at one of the said Meetings, this Examinant was appointed to speak to one Captain *Bon* a Seaman at *Ratcliff* to undertake the Raising a body of Seamen to surprize the *Tower* in case the Assassination had been committed, and this Examinant accordingly proposed to the said *Bon* whether he would undertake to do so; but the said *Bon* replied he was going to settle in *America* where he was born, and did not care to be concerned, and feared he had not interest enough amongst the Seamen if he would, which this Examinant reported to the next Meeting, and the said *Bon* is since gone to live in *New-England* where he was born, or in *New-Jersey*.

And this Examinant further saith that *Richard Goodenough* told this Examinant that he had spoken to one Mr. *Grange* a Brewer in *Westminster* to try what Men could be Raised in *Westminster* for carrying on the last Design of Raising three thousand Men out of the City

City and Subburbs, and also spoken to one *Barnes* a Hatter in *Fleet-street* to try what Men might be raised thereabouts, but this Examinant never spake to either of the said Parties about it, neither doth this Examinant know nor hath heard what other Persons were employed by *Goodenough* or any other Person in that Design, and further saith not.

Rob. West.

The further Examination of Robert West of the Middle-Temple Barrister at Law.

THis Examinant upon further Recollection saith that when the Infurrection intended in *November* last was resolved on and *Walcot* agreed to engage in it, the said *Walcot* desired this Examinant to lend him some of this Examinant's Suit of Silk Armour, viz. a Back, Breast and Head piece, and afterward asked this Examinant to take some Command of Horse under him and to engage some young Men of the Temple, telling this Examinant he could make this Examinant a sufficient Officer in two or three days time, but this Examinant refused to engage himself or his Friends either, though he offered the said *Walcot* the use of his Armour.

And this Examinant further saith, That when the Arms in his former Examinations mentioned were ordered to be bespoke; it was also proposed that *Ferguson* should provide the 600 £ he pretended to have ready for that purpose to buy Horses, which should be kept at Livery-Stables in the names of private Gentlemen, and be always in a readiness to be made use of as an opportunity for any Assassination or other Occasion should offer, and the night or two before they were to be used should seemingly be brought out of the Livery-Stables by men to be employed for that purpose, but *Ferguson* not bringing the Money no Horses were bought.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Treaty with the *Scots* seemed to be at an end, and the 10000 £ not like to be had, *Ferguson* told this Examinant that the Duke of *Monmouth* was willing to speak with this Examinant and *Goodenough* to consider what ought to be done in the City and Subburbs, and to leave the Lords and other people (by which this Examinant supposes he meant the Lords *Grey* and *Russel*, *Sidney* and *Wildman*) but this Examinant refused to go to the Duke or to *Sir Thomas Armstrong*, and knows not whether *Goodenough* went to the Duke, though he did go to *Armstrong*.

And *Ferguson* likewise told this Examinant, That if the *English* would not agree to stir, it was his opinion and the opinion of many of the Duke's Friends, and of the *Scotch* Gentlemen that were here, that the Duke should go to *Scotland* and head the *Scots* there; where.

whereupon Mr. *Wade* who was then present said, If the Duke did go thither he would wait upon him in the Expedition as a Volunrier.

And this Examinant further saith, That at some Meeting for the carrying on the intended Assassination, *Ferguson* said the King went frequently in the night cross *St. James's Park* in a Chair without any Attendance, and that it would be easie for Two Men with Swords barely to dispatch him and make their Escape; whereupon Colonel *Romzey* said it was a strange thing to him, that the great Men who were so desirous to have the business done, should not make a Purse and buy some good Office at Court for some Man whom they could trust, who should roar loud of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Wiggs, and by that means get into reputation and trust and should observe and give an account of the King's and Duke's Walks and Hours and any Journeys they designed; and the said Colonel said he had told *Armstrong* so and bad him tell his Lords.

And this Examinant further saith that about the time the Insurrection intended in *November* last was carrying on this Examinant observed the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick* and *Walcot* to be very intimate and often together, and the said *Walcot* told this Examinant that the Lord *Howard* was as right as any Man for the business and as forward to engage, but this Examinant doth not remember that he ever spoke with the Lord *Howard* himself about that Insurrection. And further saith Mr. *Roe* told this Examinant that *Gibbons* the Duke of *Monmouth's* Servant offered to be one to commit the Assassination of the King and Duke. And further saith not.

Rob. West.

The further Examination of Robert West of the Middle-Temple Barrister at Law.

THIS Examinant further saith, That after *Ferguson* had told this Examinant that a Sum of Money for carrying on the Assassination of the King and Duke in *October* last was paid to a certain Person who never returned it, of which the Lord *Shaftsbury* complained: The said *Ferguson* at another time a little before the Discovery told this Examinant that *Richard Goodenough* was the person to whom that Money was paid, and that he called *Ferguson* Fool for returning some Money he had received for the same purpose and Colonel *Romzey* told this Examinant that Mr. *Charleton* paid that Money.

And this Examinant further saith that when Mr. *Goodenough* told this Examinant that he would speak to *Hone* the Joyner to be one of the Assassimates, he said he would first try him whether he would undertake an Attempt upon the Duke of *York* before he would break the whole Business to him; and as he found

Q

him

him willing to that he would proceed. And this Examinant believes Mr. *Goodenough* did accordingly, for that the said *Hone* coming to this Examinants Chamber soon after, and being asked by this Examinant whether he had lately seen Mr. *Goodenough*? The said *Hone* answered he had, and talked with him about a Jobb upon the Duke of *Tork*: And this Examinant asking him whether they were agreed? *Hone* replied yes, but this Examinant doth not remember that *Hone* then mentioned the King or any Name or description implying the King. And about five or six weeks since the said *Hone* came to this Examinants chamber about a small alteration this Examinant designing to make in his Chamber; and then the said *Hone* asked this Examinant, Master will nothing be done? To which this Examinant answering he believed not, the said *Hone* replied, if this Duke of *Monmouth* would be true and appear openly, I could bring fifty or sixty honest Fellows from our side of the Water (meaning *Southwark*) who would be ready for business as well as my self, and this Examinant asking him what business? *Hone* replied any business, either a brisk push (by which this Examinant supposed he meant a General Insurrection) or the other Trick or Jobb of taking off the two Brothers, the Captain and Lieutenant which were two Names used for the King and Duke.

And this Examinant further saith that when the Discourse was had concerning the Killing the Ministers of State, Colonel *Romzey* said, the Lord *Halifax* was one of the Greatest Rogues, and deserved it more than any Man, for he professing himself formerly of our Party knows our weakness and Divisions and hath exposed us and made the Court venture upon things which they would never have done otherwise. And when *Goodenough* proposed that the Lord *Keeper* should be Hanged where *Colledge* was Hanged this Examinant having an Opinion that the Lord *Keeper* was an Enemy to this Examinant and had used him very hardly in a Cause this Examinant lately had in *Chancery*, this Examinant desired that he might have the Custody of the said Lord *Keeper* a little while to make him sensible of his unkindness to this Examinant, but this Examinant never designed or desired to Kill the said Lord *Keeper* or any other person, nor would have had his Hands in any Mans Blood.

And this Examinant further saith that *Ferguson* lately told this Examinant that Mr. *Cromwel*, Son of *Richard Cromwel*, who usually goes by the Name of Mr. *Cranbourn* was so vain as to endeavour to make a Party for himself or his Father in the City: and *Goodenough* formerly, viz. about *Christmasts* last told this Examinant that he believed the said Mr. *Cromwel* and Mr. *Ireton*, the Son of Lieutenant General *Ireton* would assist in the intended Assassination of the King and Duke in Person.

And this Examinant further saith, that Mr. *Goodenough* told this Examinant that he had spoken to one *Partridge* a Shoemaker and Almanack-Maker in *Covent-garden* to Act in this Assassination, and that the said *Partridge* offered to joyn in it if it were to be done in Town but was not able to Ride and therefore would not joyn in the Attempt out of *London*: And further said that the said *Partridge* had erected several Schemes and thereby found the Duke of *Tork* would scarce out-live *March* or *April*, and that the King was under

an ill Direction too, and the People would be Victorious. And Mr. *Ryley* told this Examinant the same thing as to the Schemes erected by *Partridge*.

And this Examinant further saith that Colonel *Romzey* told this Examinant that when Mr. *Trenchard* refused to go into the West and raise a Force for the intended Insurrection in November last, the said Mr. *Trenchard* was sent for to the Duke of *Monmouth's* House about it, and there were present the said Duke, the Lord *Gray* and Colonel *Romzey*. And further told this Examinant that the Lord *Ruffel* had prepared to go the then next morning to his Post which was somewhere in the West, but this Examinant doth not remember the place.

And this Examinant further saith that after the Discovery, *Walcot* told this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, *Wade*, *Norton*, *Nelthrop*, *Goodenough* and *Ferguson*, that notwithstanding the said Discovery he was perswaded God would yet deliver this Nation, but he did not approve of the present Instruments who had undertaken it, or used words to that purpose.

And this Examinant further saith that he having a Son lately Born desired Colonel *Romzey* to be Godfather, who said he would not, except he might name him *Brutus*; but was afterwards prevailed with to do that Office, and give the Name of *John* to the Child being the said Colonels own Christian name.

Robert West.

The further Information of Robert West of the Middle-Temple Barrister at Law.

THIS Examinant upon further recollection saith, that *Ferguson* formerly, viz. soon after his return from *Holland* told this Examinant that Dr. *Owen* and one Mr. *Collins* either an Anabaptist or Independent Preacher were the most sensible Ministers about the Town, and were both of Opinion that the intended Assassination and Insurrection were both lawful and necessary, and that Colonel *Owen* Dr. *Owen's* Brother was Privy to them and joyned with Colonel *Sidney* and Major *Wildman* in the management of the Treaty with the *Scots*, and that one Mr. *Mead* a Nonconformist Minister was zealous in the business of an Insurrection but was not for beginning it in *London*, and Mr. *Nelthrop* told this Examinant the same thing of *Mead*, and that he was able to Raise a thousand Men or more.

And this Examinant further saith that Mr. *Nelthrop* told this Examinant that in case of an Insurrection which he much desired, he would go along with the Lord *Ruffel* wheresoever he took his Post and would furnish out himself and a man with able Horses and Arms, and a good sum of Money.

And

And this Examinant further saith, that upon a discourse with Colonel *Rumzey* concerning a general Insurrection, the said Colonel told this Examinant that if he could have a thousand resolute Fellows, to follow him and an other thousand Men to secure him at his back he would undertake to drive the King, all the Court and the Guards out of Town so as they should not dare to look back till they were fled to *Windsor*.

And this Examinant further saith that the Money which this Examinant received from *Ferguson* amounting to something more than the Arms bought by this Examinant cost, this Examinant by the direction of Colonel *Rumzey* paid Five pounds to Mr. *Wade* to give to one *Manning* who was to have been one of the Assassins, and also in the last designed Insurrection to pay some Debts which *Manning* owed, and the said Colonel *Rumzey*, Mr. *Wade*, and Mr. *Norton* gave *Manning* a Guinny or 20 s. apiece more. And the said *Wade* asking this Examinant whether he would personally engage in the last intended Insurrection, and this Examinant saying his infirm Constitution was not able to bear the toyl of a Souldiers life, Mr. *Wade* told this Examinant, then he must fit out some Men that would, and that this Examinant should give his Blunderbuss to *Manning* who was a strong stout Fellow able to carry it, which this Examinant agreed to, and to fit out two Foot Souldiers, or do any thing else was fit for him to do.

And this Examinant further saith that at one of the last Meetings for Raising the three thousand Men out of the City and Suburbs, Mr. *Bourn* reported he had communicated the business to Mr. *Lobb* a Non-conformist Parson who had a Congregation of poor zealous Men, and that Mr. *Lobb* embraced it readily, and promised to employ two trusty Men of his Congregation to go amongst the rest and engage as many as they could. And this Examinant further saith, that *Ferguson* had four several Lodgings during this Examinants Correspondence with him, at three of which this Examinant visited him, viz. at Mr. *Bourns* the Brewer, at Mr. *Owens* a Lawyer living at the further end of *King-street* in *New-Southampton* Buildings, and at a Catlers over against *Wills* Coffee-house in *Covent-garden*, his fourth Lodging was in *St. Martins-lane* in the Fields at a Dutch Doctors, or *German Quacks*, which this Examinant never was at, and knows not the name of.

And this Examinant further saith that Colonel *Rumzey* discoursing with this Examinant further concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*, told this Examinant the Duke was inclinable to answer the peoples expectations, and submit to be little more than a Duke of *Venice*, but the Lords about him and *Armstrong* designed great Offices to themselves and will not endure to hear of Terms, but cry all shall be left to a Parliament, whereupon this Examinant saying to him, it were but just to discover all their Intrigues, but the being an Informer is an ugly thing, Colonel *Rumzey* replied, it is true our people are not worth venturing for and the other people are not worth saving, besides it would give a great blow to the Protestant interest all the world over. And further saith not.

Robert West.

The

*The Examination of William Hone Joyner taken
before Sir William Turner Knight and Alder-
man of the City of London, and one of his Ma-
jesties Justices of the Peace the 4th day of July,
1683.*

THis Examinant saith that about the Fire time at *Newmarket* Mr. *Richard Goodenough* came to him to *Cliffords-Inn* where he was at Work at one Mr. *Cark's* Chamber, and ask'd him to go along with him and told him he wanted some Labourers; This Examinant then asked him if it were honest? Upon which Mr. *Goodenough* clucht his Fist and struck it towards his Mouth twice or thrice and told him it was to seise the King and the Duke, and that there would be 20 *l.* apiece to buy Horle and Arms. This Examinant then told him he was well settled in his Trade and did not care to trouble himself. He then further told this Examinant that they had taken care to secure the City, and then they appointed to meet the next day at the *Amsterdam* Coffee-House, where they met together, and from thence they two went to one *Sergeant's* a Cooks-Shop at the Sign of the *Roe-Buck* at the Corner of *Bartholomew-Lane* where they Diaed, and whilst they were there, there came in one *Keeling* and one *Rombald* who had but one eye, and after some Discourse Mr. *Keeling* said let us go, and Mr. *Goodenough* said we want Clothes, Mr. *Keeling* replied he had Clothes for half a dozen, and further said let us make what we can and go, Mr. *Goodenough* answered no, and pointing to *Rombald* said, there is one knows the temper of the People better. This Examinant further saith that Mr. *Goodenough*, Mr. *Rombald* and Mr. *Keeling* went from thence to a Tavern in *Bartholomew-lane* where this Examinant came to them, but heard no Discourse at that time but drank and went his way.

This Examinant further saith that a Fortnight after *Wisfontide* he met Mr. *Joseph Keeling* and his Brother in *Threadneedle-Street* near the *Exchange* and they would needs Drink with him, and he went with them to the *Flanders* Coffee-House, and then Mr. *Josias Keeling* told him his Brother was a stout Man and could bring together thirty Men for his share, and then they went all three into a Room above-stairs, and then Mr. *Josias Keeling* said these words to him, *You know the business of the Rye*, this Examinant at that time knew the meaning of the *Rye*, but not the place they called the *Rye*: And they being three together they fell into Discourse concerning the King and the Duke of *York*, and how they should dispose of them and depose the King, and they being hot in this discourse this Examinant said he was for saving the Duke and securing the King, afterwards the two *Keelings* sent this Examinant to look for *Goodenough* and told him they must needs speak with him presently, and after this Examinant had been from place to place to find him,

and missing of him he returned back to the Tavern where he found the said two *Keelings* and *Goodenough* and some others who this Examinant doth not know; and there the said *Goodenough* and both the said *Keelings* retired into a private Room, but what passed between them this Examinant doth not know neither hath he seen them since. This Examinant further saith that about *Michaelmas* last was twelve month as he remembers *Mr. Goodenough* spoke to him to make a private place between his Roof and the Ceiling Joists of his House with intent as he told this Examinant to put Money in it because the times were dangerous. So this Examinant cut the Rafter and untiled part of the House and made such a private place, and made a Frame and a Door for a Man to go in, and the Bricklayer Tyled it over and over the Door, but what use the said *Goodenough* afterward made of it this Examinant knows not. This Examinant saith that the Persons engaged in this Conspiracy are *Mr. Richard* and *Francis Goodenough*, *Mr. Robert West*, the two *Rombalds*, and one *Adderton* a Glazier, and *Lee* a Dyar, and both the *Keelings*; and a *Crape-Weaver* who lives about *Chiswell-Street*.

This Examinant saith that he hath work'd for the said *Mr. West* at his Chamber in the Temple, and one day meeting him in *Fleet-Street* he asked this Examinant if the Ball were once up whether Gamesters would come in in four or five hours time? This Examinant replied he thought they would. And at another time being at Work at his Chamber they fell into discourse together concerning the Deposing of the King and the Duke, and words to that purpose, but what the particular words were he doth not well remember. This Examinant saith that to the best of his remembrance as he was Drinking with *Mr. Lee* at the *Kings-Head* Tavern in *Chancery-lane* about a Fortnight after *Witsontide* last, the said *Mr. Lee* told him there was a Captain of a Ship would appoint the hurling of a Silver Ball at *Blackheath*, which would draw a great Company of People together, and then he would give them Brandy and then they would go and seize on the Tower.

This Examinant further saith that he being at Work at one *Mr. Percivals* at *Chipenham* where the said *Adderton* the Glazier was also taking order to Work, the said *Adderton* asked this Examinant if *Mr. Goodenough* had said any thing to him about the Business? This Examinant asked him what Business? The said *Adderton* replied he had told *Lee* of it, and that was all passed between them.

Will. Hone.

Capt. & Cognit. coram me Die
& Anno præsen.

Will. Turner.

Information of William Leigh.

I Do declare that my first acquaintance with Mr. Rowse and Mr. Lee was by reason of Captain Blagg and his Business to go his Mate, and the first time that ever Mr. Rowse spoke any thing to me about the Plot, was one day I met him by the Exchange; He told me he had something to say to me; and to the best of my remembrance he asked me presently after, if I did know of any Seamen that were fitting to make Captains in Wapping: I told him No, but I would see what I could do; and he promised, he and Mr. Lee to come to the Blew Anchor by Wapping Dock next morning about Ten a Clock but came not: Another day, he and Mr. Lee came down and discoursed with some of Mr. Rowse's Friends that he met, but they did not like his way and so parted.

And the first time that ever I heard of tossing up of a Ball was by Captain Blagg, but I do declare I knew not the meaning of it till Mr. Lee and Mr. Rowse asked me about taking the Tower; and whereas he or Mr. Lee and Mr. Rowse, or both, asked me about tossing up of a Ball, as I take it on Black Heath: I asked what they would do there? They told me, there was some Hundreds of Horse ready in the Country; and as for Captain Blagg, I heard him say that Mortar-pieces over Southwark side would be the best way for the taking of the Tower; and I have heard him say, as near as I can remember, he could raise some Seamen, but the number I have forgot; and all that Mr. Lee spoke before the King and Council in my hearing was true. All this I am willing to attest; and for knowing of any others besides Mr. Lee and Mr. Rowse and Captain Blagg to be concerned in this Plot, I know not, neither can I call to mind any words spoken by any but those three.

William Leigh.

The further Information of William Leigh.

Shall it please your Majesty,
S Ince I sent in my Paper, I have sent something more which came in my mind since, That is about getting some Seamen that might be fitting to go Commanders or Captains of Ships; and as he asked if I could not get two or three; sometime afterwards I did enquire what he would do with them, he told me to make Masters of Ships.

I asked for what end? He told me to put in Ships at *Deptford* or *Woolwich*, that is Men of War to make Guard Ships to stop all going and coming: I did ask him what he would do with them when there was no Guns nor Powder nor Shot on board; but I told him if he had the *Tower* then he might do something: but his Answer was, if not then, some time after that, says he, Mr. *Rous* by Name we must secure the *Tower* and *Whitehall* both together, or else there could be nothing done: For, says he, we must take the King and then our work is done, to the best of my remembrance: I asked what was then his *Oath of Allegiance*? He told me if they had the King he shou'd be King still, but fight under his Commission. I do think Mr. *Lee* was there present.

Will. Leigh.

Infor-

*Information of the Lord Howard to the King
the 11th. of July 1682.*

*The First Part of my Narrative being a Summary
Account of all that Occurred to my Knowledg from
September 29th 1682. to the time of the Earl
of Shaftsbury's Death.*

ABout the middle of *September* 1682. I had occasion to go to a small Estate at *Tolisbury* in the County of *Essex*, where I continued about a Fortnight waiting to hear of the ultimate issue and result of the long contested Election of the Sheriffs of *London*, which was shortly to receive a final Determination by the Swearing of the new Sheriffs into their Office.

During which time of my continuance in the Country I received two or three Letters from Captain *Walcot*, importing in a mysterious Stile, well enough understood by me, that the matters of Negotiation betwixt me and the Merchant my Correspondent were brought to a good Conclusion, and that my presence was speedily desired for the better perfecting the same.

Upon the 29th. of *September* (being the day which put an end to the long Dispute about the Sheriffs) I returned to my House at *Knightsbridge*, where I had not been above two or three days before I received a Visit from Captain *Walcot*, who acquainted me that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had withdrawn himself from his own House into a Retirement in the City, where (though he was secreted from most of his Friends yet) he desired to see me, for which purpose his Lordship had sent him to me to shew me the way to his Lodging.

I presently closed with the Invitation, and went along with him to one Mr. *Watsons* House about the further end of *Woodstreet* (reckoning from *Cheapside*) where I found his Lordship alone, who immediately began to advise me in this manner, *viz.*

That finding the due Election of the City frustrated by the Pseudo-Sheriffs forcibly obtruded upon them, he could no longer think himself safe (though Innocent) in the future administration of Justice which must hereafter be expected to be wrested by such Ministers to the Humour of the Court, but this Danger threatned not him only, but me also, and all honest Men in *England*, in the sense whereof he had thought it necessary for him (and believed it no less necessary for me) to withdraw himself into the City, where he had made such preparations (meeting with a disposed matter) that he did not doubt but in a short time he should be able to reduce things to a better posture: That in order hereunto there were several Thousands (I think he mentioned 10000) who were ready upon Notice given to betake themselves to Arms: First to make themselves Masters of the

the City, and afterward Sally out and Attack the Guards at *White-Hall*, that they were to be assisted with about a 1000 or 1200 Horse to be drawn insensibly into Town from several adjacent parts of the Country under the Conduct of several good Officers, amongst whom he made mention of Major *Bremen* (and of him only) but there was nothing hindred the putting of this into speedy Execution but the Backwardness of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Russel* (to whom were affixt the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Brandon*, Sir *Henry Ingoldsby*, and several other Gentlemen who would not stir without the Duke) who had unhandisomely failed him after their promise given him to be Concurrant with him in the like undertaking (at the same time) in *Devonshire*, *Sommerfetshire*, *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and other Counties to give variety of Diversion to the standing Forces; That the Lord *Grey* seemed to be more forward then than the rest to joyn with him, with whom (if he could be gained) he intended to Couple me for the raising of *Essex*, and that the Lord *Herbert* and Colonel *Ramzey* would be assistant to him in the Conduct of the City Affairs, together with very many Eminent Citizens who desired to have their Names spared till the time of Action, with many other particulars too long to be enumerated in this short Summary.

To all this I answered, That I was glad to hear and was willing to take it upon his Credit, that the City was in as great a readiness for Action as he had exprest; and that there would be so considerable a Body of Horse brought out of the Country for their Aid as he had intimated, nor did I doubt but he had prudently provided for all the requisites to so great an undertaking. But withal that I could not but be much surprized to hear that there should be so great a misunderstanding betwixt him and those Noble Lords whose Concurrence I thought absolutely necessary for so great a Work, that if they had failed him (as he had related) after an appointment made, they had acted very unsuitably to the Character they bore, and would deservedly forfeit the opinion was had of them, that I must be allowed the Liberty to discourse with them about it and till then to suspend as well my Censure of them as the Resignation of my self to him in the matters propounded by him; upon these terms I parted from him promising to see him again within a day or two.

The next day I went to *Moor-Park*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* then was and in short acquainted him with what I had heard, as well concerning himself as the Lord *Russel*, &c. He absolutely denied that he, or (as he believed) my Lord *Russel* had ever made any such appointment with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they were altogether Ignorant of what was doing by the said Earl, who for some time (upon what *Capricio* he knew not) had withdrawn himself from them and acted upon separate Councils of his own grounded (as he feared) upon the hasty Conceptions of some Hot-headed Men, who might lead him into some untimely undertaking, which in all probability would prove fatal to himself and all the Party: For prevention of which he said he would be glad (if he knew where) to give him a Meeting, and to settle a better understanding with him.

Having had this Account from the Duke I made a second Visit the next day (being *Thursday* the 3d. or 4th of *October*) to the said Earl,

to whom I communicated what had passed the day before betwixt the Duke and me, and thereupon took occasion to strengthen my self with Arguments of the absolute necessity of a speedy Conference betwixt him and the other Lords as well for the removing the present misapprehensions they had of each other, as also for the Consolidating them into such an Union and Concert of Councils as might render them all jointly helpful to the Common Interest by an harmonious and uniform Acting to the same end in which they did all agree however they might differ in the means. This I urged upon him with all the vehemency that the nature and importance of the thing required, but he still persisted in a refusal of a Meeting, saying with some more than ordinary warmth, That he had long discovered in the Duke a backwardness to Action; by which they had lost great opportunities, that he had cause to suspect that this artificial dilatoriness of the Duke proceeded from a private agreement betwixt his Father and him to save one another. That People (so he termed that Imaginary Army in the City) were impatient of longer delays, having advanced so far already that they could not safely retreat: The intention of an Insurrection being communicated to so many that it was morally impossible to keep it from taking Air if it was not speedily brought into Act, that one of his Friends (whom I afterwards understood to be *Romhald*) had drawn almost an Hundred Horse into *London* by small and unobservable Parties a little before *Michaelmas* Day, who (after they had continued here a good while at their Expence) were again retired to their respective places of Abode; That such frequent Disappointments would weary the Party and flat their Spirits and make them at last resolve to sit down in a total Despondency; But it was much to be feared the Duke acted with a Prospect very different from theirs, he designing nothing more than the Advancing himself whilst they could not hope that ever their Liberties should be well secured for the future, but under the Government of a Commonwealth: That for these Reasons he was fully determined to be no longer expectant upon the Duke's Motions, but would pursue his former intentions of Attempting the deliverance of his Country by the help of an honest Brisk party in the City, with whom if the rest of the Lords would be co-operating they might share with him in the glory of so honourable an Undertaking, but if they would not he hoped he should be able to effect the Work without them.

Howard.

July 11. 83.

This was the Substance of the second Conference I had with him, which I reported the next day to the Duke, who desired me to make one Assay more to procure an Interview.

This occasioned my going to the said Earl a third time upon Saturday the 5th or 6th of October, at which time I did prevail with him to give me a promise of meeting the Duke and my Lord *Ross* the next day in the Evening, but in stead of coming, he sent his Excuse.

cuse both to the Duke and me, the next Morning by Colonel *Romney*, and streightway removed to another Lodging, where he continued to secret himself till the time of his departure out of *England*.

During the time of his Concealment, divers intimations were given, some to me by Captain *Walcot*, others by others to the Duke of Days appointed for their intended Insurrections; One appointment was about the later end of *October*, at which time the Kings return from *Newmarket* was expected; but this was prevented by the Duke, who prevailed with them to put it off to a longer day in expectation of a Concurrence of the Country with them.

This Adjournment (as I remember) was for a Fortnight, at which time returns from the Country gave Discouragement to the proceedings.

After this the second of *November* was made a day peremptory, as I have been informed, but that also was put off I know not upon what Disappointment, which often Failures caused the said Earl to take Resolutions of Conveying himself beyond the Seas, which he did accordingly.

Whilst these things were in Agitation, I have several times had some dark Hints given me from Captain *Walcot*, from *Goodenough*, from *West*, from *Ferguson*, of Striking at the Head, of shortning the Work by removing two Persons, by which I did apprehend that there was a design of making some Attempt upon the King and the Duke, or one of them; but when and where, and by whom, and in what manner and place this was to be acted, I never saw.

This ends the Transactions during the Life of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the rest shall be made a Second Part.

Howard.

July 11. 1683.

A Continuation of my former Narrative.

After the Death of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, it was considered, That as there had appeared both in City and Country, a very prompt and forward disposition to Action; so it might justly be feared that either the minds of Men might (in time) stagnate into a dull Inactivity, unless proper Acts were used to keep up the fermentation, or (which was equally dangerous) that the unadvised Passions of a Multitude might precipitate them into some rash and ill-guided undertakings, unless they were under the steering and direction of some steady and skilful hand. For prevention of both these Evils, it was thought necessary that some few persons should be united into

a Cabal

a Cabal or Council, which should be as a concealed Spring both to give and to guide the motion of the Machine.

The persons designed to this general Care were the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Russel*, the Earl of *Essex*, Mr. *Algernoon Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden Junior*, and another whose Abilities and Qualifications did in no degree fit him for such a Province.

The first Meeting of these Six was about the middle of *January* at Mr. *Hambdens* House, at which Consultation there was only propounded some General Heads, which were afterwards (upon more mature thoughts) to be Debated, *viz.* Where the Insurrection should be first made, whether in the City or in the more remote parts of the Country, or in both at the same instant; what Counties were thought to be best disposed to, and best fitted for this enterprize; what Persons in the respective Counties were the most useful and most ready to be engaged; what Towns easiest to be gained, and the most proper for a general Rendezvous: what Arms were necessary to be provided, how to be got, where to be disposed, what sum of Money was of absolute necessity to answer publick occasions; how and by what Methods such a sum of Money was to be raised so as not to draw into observation, nor to administer occasion of jealousy: And lastly, which was the principal and thought to challenge the chiefest Care, how *Scotland* might be drawn into a Concert with *England* and which Persons there fittest to be Consulted withal about this Matter.

This was the sum of that days Conference.

The second Meeting was about 10 days after, at the Lord *Russels* House, where were present every one of the foresaid Six.

At this Meeting it was propounded that a speedy understanding should be settled with the Lord *Argyle*, and that in order thereunto some fit Person or Persons should be thought of to be sent to him, and to be a constant medium of Correspondence betwixt him and them that care should be taken to be rightly informed of a true state of *Scotland*, of the general Bent and Inclination of the People, of the Capacities or Incapacities they were under, and that some trusty Messenger should be forthwith dispatched thither to invite two or three of the most valuable Gentlemen of that County into *England* to the end they might be advised with about the general Design.

The Persons nominated to be called into *England*, were the Lord *Melvin*, Sir *John Cockran*, and I remember another Gentleman of the Family and Alliance of the Lord *Argyle*, who (if I mistake not) was of the same Name also, and a Knight, but of this I retain but an indistinct remembrance.

Some other things were considered of, but of no great moment.

At the Conclusion of this Meeting it was agreed, that there should not be any other Meeting of this Cabal (unless in case of some extraordinary Emergency) until the return of the Messenger sent from hence, and the arrival of the foresaid Gentlemen out of *Scotland*.

This affording a kind of Vacation I soon after went into *Essex* whether I was called by the Concerns of my Estate, after that I went to *Bath* whither I was enforced to go by the Infirmary of my health, so that what was done or argued on after this, I can give no account but by hearfay.

Howard.

July 11. 1683.

A Supplement of some things which (upon recollection) have occur'd to my memory since my former Information.

I Remember that my Lord *Shaftsbury* complaining of divers persons who had deserted him and fell short of their Engagements to him, amongst the rest named his Cousin *Charleton* (meaning Mr. *Charleton* of *Totteridge*) who (he said) had promis'd and was able to bring in great assistance to him, upon which he did much rely, but was quite fallen from him, and had so wholly attacht himself to the Duke of *Monmouth* and my Lord *Russel* that he would act only by their measure.

Speaking also of Major *Wildman*, He said that he was very forward in the Work, and very active in it; And being told by me, that amongst other things which were wanting in such Enterprize, the want of some Great Guns seemed to me not to be the least. He told me that they should be furnished with two Drakes by a Friend (whom he did not name) which two Drakes I have since thought may be those two small Pieces found with Major *Wildman*.

The Person mentioned in my former Narrative who (as my Lord *Shaftsbury* said) had offered to kill the Duke with his own hands, I do now distinctly remember to be Mr. *John Ayloffe*, to whom he Answered [*No Jack thou shalt not kill him till we have an Arm'd Force to Justifie it.*]

About the 10th or 12th of *October* after a stop put to the then intended Insurrection, the Duke of *Monmouth* told me that he had seriously thought of it (meaning the Insurrection) and that after divers ways propos'd and seriously considered of he was clearly of Opinion that there was nothing so easie to be accomplished, nor so probable to do the Work effectually as to fall in upon the King at *Newmarket* with a smart party of Horse of about Forty or Fifty, which he said he could soon have in a readiness. To which I answered, That I was of the same opinion, but whether or not it would be decent for him to appear in person in an Attack to be made when the King was in Person deserved his consideration. Two days after I spoke to him of it again, and ask'd him what thought he had of it; He answered me that it could not be brought about soon enough. After which

which I never Discourfured more with him about it ; but upon reflection I am apt to think that from this time and not before the Defign of Way-laying the King in his return to *London* was firft meditated , and I am the more confirmed in this Opinion from the Confideration of the behaviour of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Grey* who feemed to be very big of Expectation of fome great thing to be attempted upon the day of the King's coming from *Newmarket* , upon which day (as I have before obferved) Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was not to be found till the King's Coachs were come into Town, and I do verily believe he was to have headed the Party. To this alfo may be added, That the Duke of *Monmouth* within few days after told me that he had that day given order to have his Horfes carried into *London* to have been in a readinefs to have Mounted upon any Emergency.

I do further call to mind , That there is a confiderable Perfon living in *Spittle-Fields* whom I very well know, and have often been in his Company (but cannot remember his name diftinctly) this Man I have been told did undertake to bring in two or three Hundred Men upon the ftrength of his own Intereft when occafion fhould require ; He is well known to Mr. *Wef*.

Howard.

Further

*Further Information of Colonel Romzey, June the
11th 1684.*

SIR *Thomas Armstrong* was at the Meeting at Mr. *Shephards* when I was there, and was one that undertook to view the *Savoy* and *Mews* to see in what posture the Soldiers were and how easie or difficult it would be to surprize them.

Sir Thomas Armstrong did tell that *Gibbons* came to him and acquainted him that Mr. *Roe* and he had been to see the Earl of *Bedfords* Garden and told him that was a fit place to take off the King and Duke at, but in other Terms which now I have forgot.

Sir Thomas Armstrong did come to me the Sunday night after the Fire at *Newmarket* and told me that he just came from *Ferguson*, and that notwithstanding they returned so soon *Ferguson* did not doubt to have Men ready by that time to do the businels and desired me to go with him to *Fergusons* Lodging in his Coach which I did, when I came there *Ferguson* told me the same but that they wanted Mony, Mr. *Charleton* not being to be found, upon which *Sir Thomas* desired me to lend some and he would see me repaid and said if he had been in stock he would have done it himself; upon their perswasion I went to my House I think in *Sir Thomas* his Coach and brought forty Guinnies; he again repeated that he would see me repaid; several times after he told me *Ferguson* had my Mony and wondred I would not go to him to receive it.

After the Discovery *Sir Thomas* came one night and told me he wondred I was not gone and did importune me to be gone with the first and in the mean time to keep close for that I was mightily hunted after.

J. Romzey.

*A Letter from Sir William Stapleton, Governor of
the Leeward Islands, to Sir Leoline Jenkins.*

Nevis Jan. 25th. 1685.

Righ Honourable,

WHAT now offers to inform your Honours is that having seen the Kings Proclamation and a List in Print of the Conspirators in the last Most Detestable Plot; I found one *James Holloway Merchant* therein specified fled and Indicted, who went by another Name, viz. *John Milward*, whom I have caused to be secured in order to send him home by the next good opportunity, which is by one Captain *John Wilkinson Commander of the Ship Joseph of London* a good Sailer.

William Stapleton.

The

The Information of James Holloway Read the 11th of April 1684.

Great SIR,

I Your Majesties most humble, but too much misled, and disobedient Subject do here most faithfully, according to the best of my Remembrance, give you an Account of what I knew concerning the late discovered Conspiracy, how I came to be concerned, how far I was concerned; how it was to have been carried on in *Bristol*; why I did not come in at the first Discovery, and cast my self at Your Majesties Feet for Mercy; how I made my escape, and where I was till taken. If I shall through forgetfulness omit any thing that it may be thought I am privy to, I shall be ready and willing truly to answer any question that shall be asked by Your Majesty, or any Your most Honorable Privy-Council, no way despairing of Your Majesties Mercy, but remain in hopes that that Fountain of Mercy which hath so abundantly flowed from Your Sacred Breast ever since Your happy Restauration is not yet Dry, and that there is some drops left for me, who doubt not but to Serve Your Majesty both at home and abroad, much more Living than my Death will.

That which I have cause to impute the occasion of my being Concerned, was my too Publick Spirit, preferring Your Majesties and my Countries Interest much before my own, but especially in attending the two last Parliaments, promoting an Act for the Encouragement of the *Linnen Manufacture*, and the preventing of Frauds in Your Majesties Customs, &c. Which would have brought in, and saved to Your Majesty near 200000 *l. per An.* and employed many thousands of Poor, &c. as is well known to many Worthy Persons about your Court, and indeed proved my Ruine, otherwise than in this Concern, by bringing me into too great Acquaintance for one of my Capacity, and by that to be concerned as I was. My Attendance on those two Parliaments I doubt have been mis-represented.

How far I was Concerned.

After the Dissolution of the two last Parliaments, I observed a great dissatisfaction in People in most parts where I travelled, but heard nothing of any Design till *July 1682.* when one Mr. *Joseph Tyl* of *Bristol* came from *London*; I meeting with him, asked What News, he answered to this effect, All bad, and if some speedy course be not taken we shall be all undone, for by their Arbitrary, Illegal ways and by force of Arms they have got Sheriffs to their Minds, Witnesses they had before, but wanted Jurors to believe them, now they have got Sheriffs, naming Mr. *North* and Mr. *Rich*, who will find Jurors to believe any Evidence against a Protestant, and so hang up all the Kings Friends by degrees; I then told him that I thought it was impos-

fible such things could be done, but the King must hear of it; no said he, there's none suffered to come near the King, but those who have been declared Enemies to the King and Kingdom by Parliament, naming some that were mentioned in the Printed Votes, who to save themselves do indeavour to keep all such things from the Kings knowledge, and perswade him against Parliaments, with much more such-like discourse, by which I found the same was discoursed throughout *England, Scotland and Ireland* as a means to engage People. At length he told me that the Protestant Gentry, naming the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Howard of Estring* and others were come to a Resolution, seeing fair means would not do, but all things on the Protestants side are misrepresented to the King by such great Criminals, and none more in favor than those, to take the King from his Evil Council, and that by an Infurrection in several parts of *England* at once, viz. *London, Bristol, Taunton, Exeter, Chester, New-Castle, York*, and some other places in the *North*, and that there would be a considerable party ready in *Scotland*, and another in *Ireland*. Therefore, said he, we must consider how to manage affairs in *Bristol*, for if they proceed at *Michaelmas* in choosing Lord Mayor as they did Sheriffs, and to swearing of *North and Rich*, it must begin in *October or November*, otherwise there will be some Sham-Plot contrived to take off most of the Stirring Men in the last Parliaments; with much other Discourse to the same effect, adding, that Mr. *Wade* would come down very suddenly, by whom we might expect a full Account of all. About the end of *August* as near as I can remember, Mr. *Wade* came down, who confirmed what Mr. *Tyly* had said, but could say little as to any farther Resolution they were come to above, either of any Time or Method agreed upon, but that the Design went on, and men were imployed in all parts to try how people were inclined, who found enough ready and that there would be no want of Men, if it was once begun. Then we considered how it might be managed in *Bristol*, and what Number of men might be needful for the first Onset; towards which he said, We might depend on 150 Men from *Taunton* or thereabouts, and concluded that 350 might be sufficient to secure it without the Bloodshed of one man, it being our Design to shed no Blood if possible, but this we resolved not to acquaint any of our Friends with, till the Day and Method was resolved, of which he said we should have ten or fourteen days notice; and having soon considered of a Method, waited in expectation of further Advice, but none came till *November*; then we heard that some dis-appointment happening they were forced to delay it, though there was more and more cause for it. The end of *December* or beginning of *January* had advice that it was deferred to the beginning of *March*. The third of *March* I came to *London*, and meeting with Mr. *Wade*, asked him how things went, who answered that he could not tell what to make of it, for he could find nothing done more than was nine Months before. The Great Persons who were the Managers having done nothing but talkt of things, but now there was some others appointed to manage it, who were Men of Business naming them to me, viz. The Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Howard of Estring*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Major *Wildman*, Mr. *Hambden* the younger, and Mr. *Charlton*, who he did suppose would make something of it, and not do as the others had done, make a years talk to ensnare

ensnare many thousands of people to no purpose; for these had already sent Messengers into *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to know their minds, naming one *Aaron Smith* sent into *Scotland*, and at the return of the Messengers would come to a resolution as to time and method, but he was confident they could not be ready before *Midsummer* by reason they had done so little in order to it. Mr. *Wade* was then design'd into the *West* upon the Earl of *Stamford's* Business, and said if he could understand any thing more before he left *London* he would take *Bristol* in his way and acquaint us with it. This Journey he brought me to Colonel *Romzey* with whom we had little discourse, he being going forth with his Lady. The sixth of *March* I left *London*, and went directly for *Bristol*; about the twelfth of *March* Mr. *Wade* came to *Bristol*, but then could say no more than as above, the Messengers being not come back from *Scotland* nor *Ireland* and was of his former opinion, that if any thing were done, it could not be before *Midsummer*, he then expected to be about two Months in the *West*, and said that if any thing was agreed upon sooner, one Mr. *West* a Councillor had promised to write to him in the name of *Inglestone*, and direct his Letter to be left at his Brothers in *Bristol*, who *Wade* ordered that if any such Letter came, to open it, and if any thing material in it, to send it by a Messenger to him into the *West*. About the 17th of *March* came a Letter for him from *West* in the name of *Inglestone*, which his Brother opened, and not understanding the Stile, brought it to me, but I knew not the meaning thereof. The Contents was to desire Mr. *Wade* to get his Clients together the next *Saturday* come Fortnight, for that was the day appointed to Seal the Writings, and neither of us understanding it, his Brother sent it by a Messenger after him, who found him at *Taunton*, and his Answer by the Messenger was, that he knew not the meaning of it, but should be within ten Miles of *Bristol* the next *Saturday*, desiring that if any other Letter came, to send it to him. About three days after came another Letter as above, desiring him not to call his Clients together, for the time of Sealing was put off, which Letter was also sent to him, but he understood it not, saying, it was some rash business or other and so went back again.

The fifth of *April* I came to *London*, and that evening went to Mr. *West's* Chamber in the *Temple* where I found him, who then did not know me, but when I told him my Name, from whence I came, and mentioned the two Letters Mr. *Wade* received from him, he began to be somewhat free in Discourse with me. I then told him that Mr. *Wade* and his Friends were surpris'd at the Letters, not knowing what he meant by them, and did desire to know, concerning which he seem'd a little shy, but after a little Discourse, began to tell me, saying, There was a Design to take off the King and Duke coming from *Newmarket*, which they expected would have been that *Saturday* mentioned in his Letter, had not the Fire happened, which caused them to come sooner; Nay, said he, had we known they would have stay'd so long as they did; their business should have been done: I then asked him what he meant by desiring Mr. *Wade* to get his Clients together by that day, and what he could propose they should have done, to which he could say little, only that they might be ready. I then told him, that I thought it a very rash thing, and that few in *England* would approve of it, that

I was sure none about us would, being a most Cowardly dishonourable action, besides the basest sin of Murther; Then, said he, what is designed by the General Design but to take them both off, and if it had been done that way, it would have prevented a great deal of Bloodshed in the Nation; No, said I, no such thing is designed as I know of, the General Design being only to get the King off from his evil Counsels, who had advised him to put a stop to Proceedings against Popish Plotters by Dissolving of Parliaments, &c. and to bring all Popish Offenders to Justice, and such who had betrayed the Liberty of the Subject; and this I think was all the Discourse we had at that time, being the first of my acquaintance with him: that night I went with him to a Tavern in *Fleetstreet*, where was Captain *Norton*, *Richard Goodenough*, and one Mr. *Aylif*, who, to my knowledge, I never saw before nor since; whilst I was with them there was no Discourse of any Business, but I soon left them together. The next day Mr. *Roe* of *Bristol*, brought me to Mr. *Ferguson*, at the House of one Mr. *Bourne* a Brewer, but was not admitted to see him himself; *Ferguson* then went by the Name of *Roberts*, who when I had told my Name and from whence I came, was pretty free in Discourse with me, and told me the Design went on very well, that there were some *Scottish* Gentlemen come up, who were treating with the Managers, and did hope they would agree in fews days, and come to a Resolution both as to time and method, of which we should have timely notice, but by all his Discourse at that time I could not perceive that he knew any thing of the *Newmarket* Design.

That day I had some discourse with Colonel *Romzey* at his house who I found was privy to the *Newmarket* Business, and his Opinion was that the General Design would come to nothing, for he did not approve of the Managers actions, and said there was nothing like the other Design, for that would put an end to all in a little time; when I told him that I thought none in our parts would be for it which I think was all the Discourse we then had, only he promised that if any thing was agreed before Mr. *Wade* came up, I should hear of it, so I took leave and went for *Bristol* the next morning. About ten days after, hearing nothing from them, (*Ferguson* having told me that he thought all would be agreed in four or five days, and promised to advise) I wrote to Mr. *West* desiring to know how they went on, who wrote me that they still met with delays, and were come to no Conclusion, after that I heard no more till *May*. About the beginning of *May* I came up to *London* again, in Company with Mr. *Wade* and some other *Bristol* men, but when we came up, my Business being in the City, and theirs about the *Temple*, we parted; after two or three days I met with Mr. *Wade*, and asked how he found things, who told me, he doubted all would prove a Sham, for he thought there was nothing intended, finding nothing materially done in order to what had been so long discoursed. Then we went to Mr. *West*, and discoursed him fully about the Contents of his Letters, who told us, they were resolved to kill the King and Duke as they came from *Newmarket*, in order to which, he had provided Arms for fifty Men, Pistols, Carbines and Blunderbusses, and that they were promised the House of one *Rumbald* a Malster, which lay in the Road, and the King must come by his Door, there the men should

should have been Lodged. Then we asked who was to have acted it, to which he could give but a slender Answer, and could or would name but two Men, who were *Rombald* and his Brother, saying, if they could have raised six or eight hundred pounds to have bought Horses, and something to encourage men, they should have had men enough; so that we found they had few men, if more than two, and no Horses, only a parcel of Arms, which afterwards he shewed us at a Gun-smiths House in a little Lane near *Temple-Bar*. Then we asked him what they designed if it had taken effect, to which he answered, that the men should have come up with all speed to *London* and dispersed themselves immediately, declaring for the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that the King and Duke being dead, no opposition could be made; then we asked who were for this Design, he named Colonel *Romzey* and *Richard Goodenough*, and, as far as I can remember, no more; so we found it was carried on by them contrary to the knowledge or approbation of those who managed the General Design: then we declared our great dislike of it, telling him, it was a base Dishonourable and Cowardly Action, and would seem odious to all the World, that any pretending themselves Protestants, should be concerned in such a Bloody Action, and that we thought it was his Cowardize put him upon it; to which he said, that he could not Fight, but would be as forward with his Money as any of his Capacity. Then we went to Colonel *Romzey*, who we found to be wholly of *West's* Opinion, saying, that except something be done that way, I know nothing will be done at all, for he knew the other Managers would do nothing; so we had little Discourse at that time. After this we went to *Ferguson*, who told us how things stood; we then found that he knew of both Designs, but was only for the Insurrection, and told us, that the Managers had been Treating with some *Scotch* Gentlemen; that they were almost agreed, and the Money they were to be supplied with, would be ready in three or four days, being ten thousand pounds which was to be returned to *Holland* to buy Arms, &c. for *Scotland*. He also told us that the *Scotch* Gentlemen had made another proposal to the Managers, thus, If they would supply them with thirty thousand pounds, they would begin it in *Scotland* first, which they could soon have, and then would Invade *England*, desiring the Managers only to get a Party in the North of *England*, ready to oppose any Force from coming out of *England* against them, before they had settled *Scotland*: but this was not approved of, the Managers chusing rather to supply them with 10000 l. and to begin it in *England* the same time. Then we daily expected to hear when the Money would be paid, but still found nothing but delays, the Managers not agreeing how to raise the Money, and that if the Money had been ready, they were come to no Conclusion as to any method more than they were nine months before, having done nothing but talked to ensnare people, reporting about in all parts how the Liberties of the people were daily more and more infringed, and that Arbitrary Government and Popery was coming in apace, which incensed people very much, and made such a grumbling in all parts, that we fear'd longer delays would make the common people in many parts mutiny, it being as we thought so gen'rally known; except something was suddainly done, it was impossible it should

remain undiscovered; so the next time we met with *Romzey* and *Ferguson* (tho never together) we declared our dissatisfaction by Reason of such long delays, and spoke it so as that it might come to the managers Ears, as we suppose it did, being to this effect: That we thought they had only a design to betray people, drawing many thousands into a snare, for their actions shewed little otherwise, being so long discoursing a thing of that nature, and done so little towards it: few days after meeting with *Romzey* again, he told us they were of different opinions concerning a method, some for beginning the Insurrection only in *London* and *Scotland*, some for it in all places at once as at first proposed, others for several places in *England* and *Scotland*, and not in *London*, saying, that if it was not begun in *London*, but in other places, there would be forces raised in *London* to send out against them, which would take out most of their strength, and that then *London* might be easily secured; sometimes they were for beginning it only in *London* and *Scotland*, and to have people come up to *London* from all parts of *England*: to which we answered, that we thought no way better than what was first proposed, (*viz.*) the beginning of it in many places at once, as before mentioned, for although we had engaged none in or about *Bristol*, nor should not endeavour it till all things were concluded, yet with the assistance we were promised from *Taunton*, did not doubt but to get men enough to secure it, and that we knew not where to get ten men that would come for *London*, and supposed it might be so in other places, men might be willing to secure their own Country, who would not be willing to leave all and come for *London*. *Romzey* then said, if he knew where to get at the head of 1000 men, he would begin it presently, and desired that we might meet the next night with some others and consider of things; so the next afternoon we met at *Richard's* Coffee-House near *Temple-Bar*, and from thence to a Tavern near, I think called the little or young Devil Tavern, where met eight persons, (*viz.*) Colonel *Romzey*, *Robert West*, Captain *Norton*, Captain *Walcot*, *Richard Goodenough*, *Francis Goodenough*, *Nathaniel Wade* and my self (this was the first time I knew *Walcot*.) When we were all sit, Colonel *Romzey* spoke to this effect, as near as I can remember the same words: Gentlemen, If we can raise three thousand men in and about *London*, there is a person of Honour will appear at the head of them and begin the business; which we supposed to be the Duke of *Monmouth*, and do not well remember whether he mentioned his name or not. Which proposal much surprized Mr. *Wade* and I, that he should then question the raising of 3000 men, whereas when it was first mentioned to us, we thought they had been sure of many thousands in *London* at an hours warning. Then it was considered how 3000 men might be raised, and how they might do something to the purpose: Then we declared what method we had concluded on for the management of Affairs in *Bristol*, which was as followeth, and they could think of no better way: so it was concluded that *London* and the Suburbs should be divided into Twenty parts, and one man made choice of in each division, who should chuse out ten in his division that he could trust, and each of those ten to find out fifteen, which would make 161 in each division; so that twenty divisions would produce 3220. In order to which, a Map of *London* was to be bought the next day, and

and each division drawn out in a particular Paper, mentioning every Street and Lane of note in it, with the North, East, South and West bounds thereof, and to be brought the next Meeting two or three nights after; at the first Meeting it was agreed, that none should know of this Design, viz. (of the chief Managers) till all the Men were secured, and that those seven (I being not to stay long in London) should meet every two or three nights till all was compleated. At this meeting *Romzey* and *West* would be often saying, there was nothing like the lopping business, meaning the taking off the King and Duke, and that it might be easily done as they went to or from *Windsor*, or to or from the *Play-House*, but I never heard any agree with them in it. Next Day a Map was bought and brought to *West's* Chamber in the *Temple*, where some met to divide it and draw out the divisions against the next meeting. The next place we met at I think was the Castle-Tavern in *Fleet-street*, where some of the divisions were brought, all being not done, and then it was consider'd how they should be distributed, being we were most strangers; and agreed, that *Richard Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff, and so had a general Acquaintance, should do it, who was willing to undertake it, the rest of the divisions to be ready against the next meeting, which was two or three Nights after at the Green-Dragon Tavern upon *Snow-Hill*, where when Mr. *Goodenough* came he told us, That he had disposed of some of them, and did hope it would take effect, and that in a week or ten Days he should have fixed the twenty Men; the consideration how things should be manag'd, was deferred till they were sure of the Men, only some mention'd their Opinions how the *Tower*, *Whitehal*, and other places might be best surpris'd. The *Tower* was thought might be best gained in the Day time, *Whitehal* and other places in the night, with many such things in way of discourse: *Romzey* was still upon the old strain of killing the King and the Duke, saying (at this the last meeting I was at, (going for *Bristol* next Morning) that it might be done in *Windsor-Park*, and that he would undertake it, but not except every one there present would go with him, to which not one consented, I replying, that I was for no such thing; but seeing the other business had gone so far, and was known to so many, if they could bring it to bear in London and other places, I rashly said, rather than fail of *Bristol* we will undertake it at Noon-Day with an Hundred Men: to which *Romzey* said I was a bold fellow; they then promised (when they were sure of the Men) to advise and take care for some Arms for us at *Bristol*, and that we should have some Great Person come down to Head us; but I heard no more till the news of the Discovery came in publick Letters. I remember one time when *VVade* and I was with *Ferguson*, he told us that the Duke of *Monmouth* was brought to a low Condition, all his Places being taken from him, and his Tenants in *Scotland* (being so severely dealt with upon account of their Religion) were not able to pay Rent; so that his Estate there, which was accounted worth Ten or Twelve Thousand Pound per An. did not yield him the last Year Two Thousand Pound, that he was not well pleased with the management of Affairs, and desired Mr. *VVade* to Appoint a place where he would meet the Lord *Gerard*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, to discourse them; to which Mr. *VVade* replied, he would meet none of them, for such Great Men

Men had betrayed the Nation already, and ensnar'd too many Thousands to no purpose.

How it was to have been acted in Bristol.

We concluded that the only way to secure *Bristol* would be by a surprize, which with about 350 Men (150 of which we depended on from *Taunton*, the other 200 to be raised in and about the City) might easily be done about 4 of the Clock in the Morning, as soon as the watch were gone off, without the Bloodshed of one Man, thus, dividing the City into fourteen parts, so making thirteen Posts besides the main Guard, which should at first have been at the *Toulssey* (which is in *Bristol* as the Exchange here) we supposed 20 Men might be sufficient for each Post, and the remainder for the main Guard, out of which might be spared 4 or 6 Files to be constantly marching about, and to assist where there might be occasion. The method we designed for the raising 200 Men in and about the City was thus, first to find out 30 Men, 2 for each Post, and 4 for the main Guard, who might be able each of them to procure 6 and to command them, which would have made 14 for each Post, and 28 for the main Guard, to whom the *Taunton* Men should be added, (*viz.*) 6 to each Post, and the remainder to the main Guard, who should have come in the Day before, some at every entrance of the City, and lodge themselves at Inns and Ale-Houses as near the Posts they were appointed for as they could: Each Man being to know his Post and Commanders before they came; the *Bristol* Men to Lodge themselves and Arms, with Arms for the *Taunton* Men, in an House as near as possible to their Posts, and to send one out from each Post, between Three and Four of the Clock in the Morning to observe the motion of the Watch, and to advise as soon as they were gone off, that they might all immediately repair to their respective Posts, calling the *Taunton* Men; and as soon as they had gained their Posts, to send out a File of musquetiers to fetch in such and such men in each of their Divisions as they should have had an account of before, and convey them to the main Guard, which in the fourteen Divisions would have been about Sixty Persons, Commission-Officers and others; then to fetch in all the Arms and Ammunition they could find, which two things being done (as we supposed might be in a little time, and without any opposition, the Posts being so near each other, that it would have been impossible for any Number to get together) we resolved next to declare the reasons for our taking up Arms, and to encourage all to come in to us that we could trust, not doubting but we should soon have had many Thousands in the City, and out of the adjacent Counties, *Glocester*, *Somerset* and *Wilts*.

The Reason why I did not come in, &c.

When the News of the Discovery first came to *Bristol*, and some time before, I was in some trouble by my Creditors, and forc'd to abscond tho' thought I had sufficient to pay them, only desired time to get in my effects, their Mercy I feared more than your Majesties, and thought if I should come in and find mercy with your Majesty, I could at first expect no better than a Prison, and if from it discharged by

by your Majesty, to be kept in by them upon account of my Debts. Secondly, hearing there was very many (in and about *Bristol*) supposed to be concerned, and I (tho' knowing so much) being able to prove so little against any Man, but such against whom there was sufficient proof without me, feared that if I should come in more would be expected from me than I could prove, and so might fall of Mercy, it having been our resolution not to discover the Design to any of our Friends till the Managers had agreed both upon time and method, therefore considered how to make my escape, there being then a strict search in all Ports, thought best to continue in *England* for some time, till the heat might be over, and so got an ordinary habit and a little Horse about 40 Shillings Price, and travell'd the Country as a Man dealing in Wool, in *Gloucester-shire*, *Oxford-shire* and *Summer-set-shire*, till about the middle of *August*, then repaired towards *Bristol*, and by Letter with my Wifes Assistance (all other Friends thereabout fearing to act for me) prevailed with a Poor Man who had a small Boat about Ten Tuns, for Twenty Pounds reward and the like per Month, for six Months, to go with me for *France*, and from thence to the *West-Indies* or where I would, my Name being then in no Proclamation or Declaration, if it had I should not have prevailed with the Man to go with me. So the Twenty third of *August* Sailed from *Kings-Road* for *Rochell*, the 25th. proving bad whether, crackt our Mast, and so put into *St. Ives* in *Cornwall*, where we stayed till the fourth of *September*, then put out again for *Rochell*, but meeting with contrary Winds was forced into several places in *France*, and gained not our Port till the Seventeenth. In *Rochell* I loaded her with Brandy and other Goods, and the fourth of *October* Sailed from thence for the *West-Indies* (being willing to know how my Concerns lay there, that my Creditors might have their own, tho' I knew I might be much safer in *France*) and arrived at *Barbadoes* the eleventh of *November*; there I heard of my Name being in the Gazette, therefore stayed but two Days landing part of my Cargo, from thence I went to *Antigua*, where I landed and disposed of the remaining part, staying there about ten Days; but it being too soon for the Crop, and my charge being the same lying still or going farther, also thinking it not safe to lie long there, resolved to see the rest of the *Caribby-Islands*, and so went down to *Mounserat*, *Nevis*, *S. Christophers*, *S. Estatia* and *Anguilla*, and so back again to *S. Christophers*, supposing that to be the safest place, I being known to none there, where I stayed about three Weeks. About the fourteenth of *January* I wrote to my Factor in *Nevis* about what was due to me, who on receipt of my Letter discover'd me, so that Sir *William Stapleton* presently sent his Warrant to *St. Christophers* to Apprehend me, but before it came I was gone down to *St. Estatia*, expecting to meet my Vessel there, which I had sent up to *Barbadoes*, and it being known where I was gone, the Deputy-Governor of *St. Christophers* sent five Men with his Warrant after me, to whom on sight thereof I submitted, tho' had an Opportunity and might have escaped, but was rather willing to cast my self at His Majesties Feet for Mercy, than live such a Life any longer, not daring to appear where there was need of me (among my Factors) who I doubt will take too much Advantage by my Troubles for my Creditors Interest. In *Nevis* I was kept a Prisoner 13 Days, where I promised Sir *William Stapleton* that I would make what Discovery I could, giving

him the Names of some who I had acquainted with it in *Bristol*, which I suppose he hath given an Account of desiring him that it might be kept private, for if it was known they would have Advice of it; but it was not kept so private as I expected, for the Night I came off I was told of it, therefore suppose they were advis'd by a *Bristol* Ship that came away before us, by which I wrote not a word, I suppose she might be at home long before us, we being nine Weeks and five Days. All that I can say against any of them, except *William Wade* who is before-mention'd, is That I Acquainted them with the business, as I believe many Thousands in *England* were, and do suppose they would have been concern'd. Hereunder is an Account of many other Persons that I have heard were concerned in the Design for an Insurrection, which is all that I can call to mind of any thing material that ever I heard concerning the Plot.

A Paper found in Mr. Charleton's Custody.

Worthy Sir,

THe particulars underwritten, are a brief Account of what Service was done since *May* the 15th. 1680. during which time Six Pound *per annum* hath been paid for Rooms, most what for that Service, besides Wages to two Servants amounting to upwards of Ten Pounds, which is not at all charged to the Account. And all Earn'd and Charged on that Account is but 56 *l.* 10 *s.* for Paper and Print, *viz.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Black Box, First Impression Paper and Print Number 1500.	05	00	00

Second Impression with Alterations Number 1500.	05	00	00
--	----	----	----

The Answer to the Declaration Three Sheets, Number 3000. Paper and Print	18	00	00
--	----	----	----

The two Conferences, Five Sheets, Number 2500. Paper and Print.	25	00	00
--	----	----	----

Reasons for the Indictment of the D. of T. Number 1000. Paper and Print	02	10	00
---	----	----	----

For Bags, Boxes and Portridge	01	00	00
-------------------------------	----	----	----

Sum is	56	10	00
--------	----	----	----

Whereof Received	33	00	00
------------------	----	----	----

Remains	23	10	00
---------	----	----	----

Besides all the large promises when engaged in that Service, *viz.* to be the Parliament Printer (and when the Parliament sat, had not one Sheet to do of all the vast Numbers done for them.) Also 100 *l.* *per annum* and Reimbursement for an Engine made on purpose for the Service, which cost 15 *l.* A Former that cost 16 *l.* being rotted in the former Publick Service.

Towards all which, Eight Guineas were received of Mr. *Ferguson* said to be his own Gift. This is a Brief Account of what past under Mr. *Ferguson's* Order, which shall be faithfully made appear to his Face if he dare stand the Test. By Sir, your most humble Servant.

Captain

Captain Walcot's Letter, To the Right Honourable Sir Leoline Jenkins.

Honoured Sir,

I Being in the Country, and to my great trouble seeing my self in his Majesties Proclamation, I came last Night to Town, resolving to lay my self at his Majesties Feet, let him do with me what he pleaseth; This is the first Crime I have been Guilty of, since His Majesties Restauration, and too soon by much now: If his Majesty thinks my Death will do him more good than my Life, God's Will and His be done. Untill I sent your Honour this Letter, my Life was in my own Power but now it is in the Kings; to whom I do most humbly propose, That if his Majesty desires it, I will Discover to him all that I know relating to England, Scotland, or Ireland; which I suppose may be something more than the Original Discoverer was able to acquaint His Majesty with; especially as to Ireland: There is not any thing his Majesty shall think fit to ask me, but I will answer him the Truth, as pertinently and as fully as I can. My intimacy with a Scotch Minister, through whose Hands much of the Business went, I judge occasioned my knowing very much; And I do further humbly propose, That if His Majesty thinks it advisable, I will follow those Lords and Gentlemen that are fled into Holland, as if I fled thither, and had made my Escape also, and will acquaint the King, if I can find it out, what Measures they resolve of taking next: I do assure his Majesty, the business is laid very broad, or I am misinformed. And I am sure as to that particular, if my being with his Majesty, and your Honour, be not Discovered, I shall be ten times abler to serve him, than either Mr. Freeman, or Mr. Carr; for they will trust neither of them. There's scarce any thing done at Court, but is immediately talk'd all the Town over; therefore if his Majesty thinks what I have presumed to propose Advisable, I do then further most humbly Propose, That my waiting upon his Majesty may be some time within Night, that your Honour will acquaint me the Time and Place where I may wait upon you, in order to it; and that it may be within Night also, and that no body may be by, but his Majesty, and your Honour; And if his Majesty pleaseth to Pardon my Offences for the time past, he shall find I will approve my self very Loyal for the future; if not, I resolve to give his Majesty no further trouble, but to lie at his Mercy, let him do with me what he pleaseth. I purpose to spend much of this Day in Westminster-Hall, at least from Two of the Clock to Four: I beg your Pardon I send your Honour this by a Porter: I assure your Honour, it was for no other reason, but because I would not have a Third Person Privy to it; And that I might have the better opportunity to make good my Word to his Majesty, and so approve my self

Your Honours most humble Servant,

THO. WALCOT.

*Minutes of Walcots Confession before His Majesty
the 8th of July 1683.*

THe first Business was spoken of in a place and at a time he does not now remember.

But it was agreed that Lord *Shaftsbury* should have the Command in *London*.

Lord *Ruffel* in *Devonshire*.

Lord *Brandon* in *Cheshire*.

Duke of *Monmouth* in *Taunton* and *Bristol*.

This agreement did not hold long; Some coming to Town that said the Countries were not ready.

The last business was spoke of about a fortnight before *Asb-Wednesday* last: Captain *Walcot* had no Conference about it with any Lord but with the Lord *Howard* of *Eserick*.

Ferguson did oblige Captain *Walcot* to bring him and the Lord *Howard* together: The Lord *Howard* and *Ferguson* discoursed together of the ways and means to surprize the *Tower*.

Lord *Shaftsbury* told him that the City was divided into twenty parts, and that there was to be a Chief to every part and he was to choose fifteen Men to assist him within his Division.

Lord *Shaftsbury* told the Duke of *Monmouth* that the King was to be deposed.

Rumbald was Lieutenant of Horse in *Fairfax's* Army. *Walcot* served in the same Army.

Richard Goodenough said the Duke of *Monmouth* expected six thousand Men together in *London*.

Lord *Ruffel* and Lord *Gray* were to Mortgage Lands for the Raising of ten thousand pounds.

Lord *Howard* of *Eserick* was concerned in the Grand Consultation.

Captain *Walcot* always opposed the Assassination: He will leave 800 *l.* a year behind him.

Ferguson told *Walcot* about a quarter of a year ago that the Earl of *Essex* was in this Affair.

A Note taken from Walcot, by Captain Richardson Keeper of Newgate, July the 11th. 1683.

IF Colonel *Romzey* be to be spoke with I would have you speak with him to be tender of me, that will do him no hurt, he hath room enough to serve the King upon others, and if Mrs. *West*, would do the like to her Husband, her Children——

On the other side,

Run no hazard nor speak with him before any Body, if you cannot be private leave the Issue to God.

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

Two Letters from the Mayor of New-Castle, Dated June the 1st. 1683. To Mr. Secretary Jenkins, about Pringle, &c.

Right Honourable, *New-Castle June the 1st. 1683.*

WE presume to acquaint your Honour there are two persons Apprehended and Committed to his Majesties Goal here, with whom there are found divers Seditious Papers and Letters, they were for going beyond Seas, the one of them goes by the Name of Alexander Pringle, the other Edward Levitson, when their Papers and Writings were seized on they attempted to destroy and convey the same, but were prevented: We have sent by Express the Writings so seized on to his Grace the Duke of New-Castle our Lord Lieutenant, to forward the same with this Letter to your Honour. What Commands we receive from your Honour shall be obeyed by, &c.

Right Honourable, *New-Castle June the 13th. 1683.*

WE Received your Honours Letter of the 5th. Instant, do acknowledge your favour and kindness therein, we have and shall make it our chief Care and Study to Apprehend all such Offenders and do our utmost Endeavours on all occasions for his Majesties Interest and Service, we are satisfied one of these persons is Alexander Gordon of Earlestone though now called Pringle, both these Prisoners were delivered Yesterday to Colonel Strother to be safely Conveyed into Scotland, according to his Majesties Commands. We are, &c.

A Letter to Mr. Alexander Pringle, seized at New-Castle.

SIR,

London, March the 20th. 1683.

ON Saturday last I had the occasion of seeing a Letter from you directed for Mrs. Gaunt, in whose absence Mrs. Ward had received it, at the Reading of which I was not a little troubled, considering my full resolutions signified to you in my last, for effectuating of which I had spoke for passage and taken my farewell of Mother Gaunt [she going into the Country]; And that very Week I was so set upon by the Gentleman with whom I stay and Jo. Johnston with some others, to stay but a month, and if that did not accomplish somewhat in hand to help Trading, then I should be no longer detained. After I was prevailed to retract so far I Ordered Jo. who had time at Command to give you an ample account of matters: And withal Jo. was desired by our Friends from Scotland to stand here in my place: The like Engagements of Secresie, &c. being taken, and thereupon I ordered him to shew you the grounds of my staying, and to desire if you inclined to cross the Water to come this way. But since many are the confused and troubled Thoughts that have possessed me for Yielding: Concerning which as also my yielding to it, take the subsequent account. In my last, or it precedent to it, I shewed you that Trading was very low here and many breaking, which hath made the Merchants, such as they are, to think that desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures. And while that they have some

some stock it will be better to venture out than to keep Shop and sit still till all be gone and then they shall not be able to act but let all go, which Resolution I thought a thing not to confide in seeing the most of them are Fire-side Merchants, and love not to venture where storms are any thing apparent. But about my departing they shewed the Model of Affairs in such order that I see venture they must and venture they will, whereupon I demanded how our Trade would be carried on. Answer, They knew well what goods had proven most prejudicial to their Trade and therefore they thought best to insist upon Negatives. In which whatever I proposed is assented to, as I find, and this they thought best to still some Criticks in the Trade and by this means to endeavour the dispatching the old rotten Stuff before they order what to bring home next, this looks somewhat strange to me, but when I consider all circumstances I think they for themselves do best in it, for our Merchants I made account only to have had some stock for to set the broken cues up again and so bid them here farewell and they to try their way and we ours since they think fit that some of those whom we have found (as you will say when you hear them named) treacherous dealers in our Trade consulted and accordingly have done, whereupon I fear or rather hope that our Merchants though broke will rather desire to live a while longer as they are, than joyn with such, and to advance their Trade unless surer grounds of their fidelity be gotten than is or can be expected. And this is the bottom of all my sorrow. But to proceed I find (if all hold that is intended) that they think it is almost at a point to set forward if they had their Factors home who are gone to try how the Country will like such Goods as they are for or against the making sail of. Friends I mean Merchants wrote to me that after I had spoken to you possibly you might come this way the better thereby to advise them what to do in this case for I have signified somewhat of it to them but not so far as this; because I thought to have seen you long ere this time but I hope you will not misconstrue of my staying, seeing in it I designed nothing but advancement of our Trade. But once this week those Factors sent for will be here, and then matters will (in instanti) either off or on, break or go through: Wherefore in reference to friends I desire you will advise me what to do if you cannot or think it not convenient to come here, if you do let a Letter precede, and if any strange thing fall out this week or the next, I will again Post it towards you. I think when this and the next week is gone (and no news come from you) that I shall set forward being still so ready as that in twelve hours I can bid Adieu.

The Whiggs are very low as well in City as Suburbs all Meetings being every Sunday beset with Constables to keep them out, and what they get is stolen either evening or morning. This Winter most of the great Bankers and Goldsmiths in Lombard-Street are broke and gone. The Bantam Factory in the Indies is taken by the Dutch. Confusion confusion in Town and Country, such as you never saw. Mrs. Ward and several others desire to be remembered to you: My endeared Respects to your self and B. with the young Men arrived. This I have writ in short and in haste, expecting a line with as great haste as you see is needful; for matters are full as high as I tell you. Farewel.

From your Friend and Servant, Jo. N.

Be sure that you direct not for Bednal-Green, but for me at Mr. Meads in Swinney near London. Directed on the back thus; To Mr. Alexander Pringle to be left at Mr. Alexander Hope his House in Four Glass-Flower, in Rotterdam, These.

The

*The Examination of John Nisbet of Stepney
taken before John Tendring Esq;*

THis Examinant being duely Examined, doth say that he was born in *Northumberland*, that he was bred a Scholar at *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*, that he came from thence to *London*, that he was Usher at Mr. *Waltons* School at *Bednal-green*, that from thence he came to *Mile-end*, and there lived about a year in the House of one Mr. *Matthew Richardson*, and taught his Children:— This Examinant saith further, That he came down to *Bradwel* with Mr. *Richardson*, and that being a Scholar he did intend to go beyond-Seas into *Flanders*, and put himself into some Colledge.

This Examinant wholly denied that he knew Mr. *Richardson* to have any other Name.

Capt. coram me.

Jo. Tendring.

A Copy of Earlestoun's Commission,

Omnibus & singulis Religionem vere Reformatam Profitentibus ad quos præfentes pervenient.

Quin, Variæ Augustiæ, pertristes persecutiones, & opprobria nostræ (hic in Scotia) Ecclesiæ, magna, ad vestras pervenere aures, neutiquam est nobis in dubio: Quum, depressus, & quoad externa, Status devastatus; quo, pro Fide Sanctis traditâ, & nostræ Ecclesiæ privilegiis & jure peculiari contendendo, redacta est, fere omnibus sit notus: Quorum intuitus & consideratio una cum magna, de vestri (in nobis interesse, spe conceptâ) hunc Dom. Alexandrum Gordon de Earlestoun Legatum nostrum, vobis omnibus, Reipublicæ Israeliticæ sanctoribus, & benevolentibus mittere & demandare non sine multa causa, persuasit; causam, & Statum nostrum malitiose, subtilitate adversariorum vobis representatum, cognoscentes qui, eo ipso ut, nos, & quicquid a nobis actum, vobis reddant ridiculo; in male representando, & Pseudographias actorum nostrorum dispersendo, vigilantissimi sunt: Quasi progressus nostri & principia Verbo Dei (sæpremo controversiarum judici) & vere Protestantismo, essent contraria: Quum nos, nec quicquid tenere, nec tenere cupere, Verbo Dei scripto,

& antiquis, civilis, & Ecclesiastici Status legibus; & pristina reformationi contrariam, declaramus, sed cum omnia in eo fundentur, potius (Deo dante) actiones nostras ei reddere conformes cupimus. Quapropter nos Protestantes, Antierastiani, Antiprelatici, & Tirannide agitati, in Scotia Presbyteriani, huic nostro legato, concedimus ei plenum consensum & assensum dantes fideliter, & vere, omnes vere Reformatos, ad quos perveniet, informatos reddere; Quod solummodo nos ipsos in viâ Domini puros (Dei gratia) quoad possumus servare, intentes sumus & viam majorum, vere Illustrium, in nostra nobili reformatione propaganda in diversis, ejus, a Papismo, Prelatura, & Erastianismo gradibus, & vestigiis incedere cupimus, atque hæc sunt nostrarum persecutionum (pro præsentis) capita, & causa. Ad quorum pleniorum & clariorem notitiam, hujus nostri Legati relationi remittimus; Testimonio cujus, cum sit in rebus nostris, publicis declarationibus & martyrum Testimoniis, sat versatus, ejusdem nobiscum judicii, & sub iisdem perpeffionibus fidem dare potestis. Humillime igitur oramus & obsecramus ut relationi hujus nostri Legati tanquam vere fides a vobis detur, & ut nullius narrationi, vel datæ vel quæ posthac detur, de nobis, principis, & progressu nostro sicut verbo Dei, votis, juramentis, ei datis, & relationi hujus nostri Legati, contraria cum sit tantum calumniose ab adversariis data credatis. Quocirca, omnes Zionis fautores oramus; nostrum statum, quo redacti sumus, non parvi facere, sed serio perpendere; Deus enim omnes, ad sympathium vocat, & perpendum est, omnes conjuraciones & Adversariorum consulsationes, in universam Ecclesiam esse destinatas: Et uno membro patienti totum corpus cum eo compati debet. Datum Edinburgi decimo die Aprilis, Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo octuagesimo secundo. Et ex nostro mandato subscriptum a Clerico Conventionis nostro sic subscribitur Jacobus Renwick.

The Examinations of Gordon late of Earlestown taken before the Committee of Council, July the 5th. 1683.

In presence of the Earls of Linlithgoe, Perth, Bishop of Edinburgh and Register.

Alexander Gordon of Earlestown being Examined again by Order of the Council upon several Interrogators arising from the Letter sent to him by Jo. N. Dated London, March the 20th. 1683.

As to the Secrecy to be taken of the Man that was to stand in Nisbets place. That it was an ingagement of Secrecy and some Queries to try if they agreed in Principles.

Being

Being interrogat of the account of Matters written to him by *Jo. N.* Declares that it was a Letter under the Metaphor of Marriage, and that by the Marriage he understood a Rising designed there.

Being interrogat what the *Merchants* being low and breaking did mean. *Answers*, That he thinks it means that their people, *viz.* the Dissenters were breaking in their Stocks by Excommunications and other Courses, and therefore they were resolving upon desperate courses; which was Rising in Arms.

Being interrogat what is meant by the said *Merchants*. *Answers*, Some that lived at their ease and quiet would not venture to Rise when they saw much danger.

Being interrogat what is meant by the *Model of Affairs* that would make them venture. *Answers*, That they had shewn to *Jo. N.* a Model how they would go about their affairs in order to their Rising.

Being interrogat anent their Resolution to insist on Negatives, and what were the Goods that proved prejudicial to them formerly. *Answers*, That the meaning was, they resolved to agree in what they would put down, which he thinks was the whole Government, Civil and Ecclesiastick, but that they would not determine positively what they would set up.

Being interrogat what was it that *Jo. N.* proposed to them that they assented to. *Answers*, He thinks he had stated the grounds of the quarrel Relative to the present Government, and that they had assented to it. But declares that when *Jo. N.* was speaking to him of these things, he thought them of that nature that he shun'd discourse upon them to receive Information concerning them, because he had no mind to meddle with them.

That by *Criticks of the Trade*, is understood the Scotch Fanaticks, because they are nice in associating themselves.

That by the *dispatching of the old rotten Stuff*, he thinks it the dispatching of the Sectaries or the present Government, but rather thinks it was the last.

That by the Broken ones which he was to set up, is meant the Scotch Fanaticks to be helped by Contributions, and that by their trying their way and we ours, was meant the English was for Rising in Arms, but the Scotch Fanaticks were for delaying some time.

That by these called Treacherous Dealers, he thinks is meant both the Secretaries and the present Government, who had formerly broke their Government, but never heard these persons named.

That they being at a point to set forward, is meant their being ready for Rendezvous.

That by *Emissaries* is meant persons sent out both in Scotland and England from London to try the Peoples inclination to a Rising and to incite them to it, and that these Merchants who advised *Jo. N.* to send for the Declarant to come that way were the Meetings of the Fanaticks in Scotland.

That by *Advancing of the Trade* he thinks is meant the Carrying on of the Rising.

By that part of the Letter which tells that when the Factors would return that matters would *in instanti* be off or on, That the meaning

meaning was that when these Factors came in they expected Money for buying of Arms and then they would instantly have Risen, but that the Money was not come in at that time when he did meet with *Jo. N.*

That by the strange thing that might have fallen out in a week or two, he understands no other thing than the Insurrection intended.

Declares that this *Jo. N.* was a person that past under the name of *John Nisbet*, an Englishman, and stayed at one *Mr. Mead's* in *Stepney*, which *Nisbet* was an Usher of a School at *Bednal-green* before.

That the close of the Letter bearing that things were fully as high as I tell you, is meant the present intended Rebellion.

That by the Capital Letter *B.* is meant one *Mr. Brake* a Minister in *Lewarden* in *Friesland*, and the young men are some Students who are in *Holland*.

Being interrogat what he heard of the Earl of *Argile's* concurring or assisting in this Insurrection. *Answers*, That he heard by report in *Holland*, that *Argile* had undertaken to Raise ten thousand Men to assist in that Rebellion, and that he was to furnish himself with Arms in *Holland*, and about the time of this report which he thinks was in *December* or *January* last, he heard *Argile* was in *Holland* but that he did not see him, and to the best of his memory *Jo. N.* also told him of the Earl of *Argiles* concurring in the Rising, but remembers of no other person.

Being interrogat upon the little Letter from *Stepney* which he thinks was about the beginning of *May*, Dated *Friday* at seven a Clock, That the Man whom he speaks of, is *Mr. Mead* a Minister, and that by the words what my Hands find to do was meant *Jo. N's* going to *Holland* and that the Declarant was to meet with *Mr. Mead* to let *Jo. N.* go.

Further declares that *John Johnston* was one, who at other times past under the name of *Murray*, who is a little Man Pock-marked, and wears a Periwig. *Sic subscribitur.*

A Gordon, Linlithgow, Perth, Jo. Edinburgen. Geo. Meckenzy, J. Drummond.

This is a true Copy of the Original Declaration and Answer made by *Alexander Gordon*, late of *Earlestown* to the Interrogators proposed to him by the Committee of Council, which is attested by me

William Paterson

• Cls. Sti. Concilij.

The

A Copy of Alexander Gordons Examination,
June 30. 1683.

THE said *Alexander* being interrogate what he knew of the Author of that Letter directed to *Alexander Pringle* of the date 20 of *March* last, to be left at *Alexander Hopes* House in *Glofs-haven, Rotterdam*, which runs upon the Metaphor of Trade, answereth, That the Author of that Letter seemeth to him to be one *Jo. Nisbet*, with whom he conversed a year ago at *London*, and ordered the said *Alexander* to direct his Letters to *Bednal-Green*, and since to Mr. *Mead* in *Stepney* near *London*: and that he the said *Alexander* had written a Letter to this *Jo. Nisbet*, challenging him why he came not sooner over to *Holland* as he had promised, dated about *January* last; and that he received this Letter by the Metaphor of Trade in answer thereunto; and that the venturing spoke of in the Letter was to signifie a resolution of a speedy Rising in Arms; and that the *Factors* therein mentioned, signified their Agents and Emisaries who were sent out into different corners both in *England* and *Scotland*, to know the Pulse of their Complices and Parties if they were in readines to joyn and rise with them, and that they brought back accounts of their willingness so to do, and readines for an Insurrection. And as to the assistance they were to have from *Scotland*, he understood it at his last coming here, and some Months before he came over in *May* last, he heard amongst the Dutch People commonly reported that there was to be very shortly a Rising in *England*, and that the *Earl of Argile* was to furnish from *Scotland* Ten Thousand Highland-Men for their assistance; and that at his coming hither last he heard that there was a Person come from *England* to Sir *Jo. Cockram*, alleading he came about the Affair of *Carolina*, but that he had discovered himself to a Servant of the Lord Treasurers that he had come to *Scotland* upon other matters, and that the Letters for *Scotland* from any Correspondents of the Party in which *Earlestown* was engaged was directed to Mr. *Henry Emertson* written in *Edenburgh*; and that before he came last hither in *May*, the meeting of these Phanatical People had received a Letter from *England* subscribed by one *J. S.* whom he takes to be one *Murray* as he named himself to *Earlestown* (as the other forementioned person named himself *Jo. Nisbet*) in which Letter there was the Metaphor of a Marriage anent which all things were agreed and the Marriage ready to be solemnized which occasioned their sending for him the said *Alexander Gordon* to have his mind concerning that Affair; and they interpreting that Letter signed by *J. S.* from *England* to concern the seeking of their assistance in their intended Rising there, he did dissuade them from it: and that by the Marriage they understood a Rising to be intended in *England*; and that it was ready to be solemnized. was to signifie that an Insurrection was to be very speedily on foot; and declared that these with whom *Earlestown* con-

verfed here declared that they believed that the Perfons who came from *England* to Sir *Jo. Cockram* were sent to manage a Correspondence in order to the design of Rising in Arms.

The Relation of Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun of what he was informed of, and heard as followeth.

A Bout the time of the Election of *Rich* and *North*, I heard that there were some designs of Rising in Arms of some people in *England*, and in order thereto there was some Treating with my Lord *Argile*, but not agreeing to the terms my Lord left them, and I heard it ceased for some time and went over to *Holland*; and when he was there, I was informed of the renewing of the Treaty, and agreed upon the following terms, viz.

That the Earl of *Argile* should raise Seven Thousand Men, and the Treators (who as I was informed were English-men) were to advance the said Earl Ten Thousand pound Sterling; and this was agreed to in *April* last.

The persons in *England* were by Information the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; but after the said Earls decease I did not hear so much of the Duke of *Monmouth*. I was also informed of *Ford* Lord *Gray* of *Wark* his being in the Design.

I was also informed that those concerned in *Scotland* most in the said Design, were Sir *John Cockram*, *Jerviswood*, *Sessnock Elder* and *Younger*, and that Sir *John Cockram* the one day kist His Majesties Hands, the other day went to the Cabal anent the above-written Design.

I was also informed, That no small number of the Gentlemen in the West and other places in *Scotland* upon their resentment of the present Government, particularly as to the Test and other Papers put to them, were not resolved to stand to them although they should take them, but rise upon the first occasion.

This Information I heard from *Murray* alias *Johnstonne*, who as I heard was a West Country-man in *Scotland*, who offered to take me along to their Cabals, but upon my refusal to meddle in the designs kept himself and told no more than those generals.

I met

I met with *Mead* at one *Mr. Cooks* a Merchant living near the *Exchange* in *Austin-Fryers* in *London*, but I do not mind what he spoke of the aforesaid Design to me, but thinks not, for I was a stranger to him, and not acquainted before that time; and this I subscribe before these Witnesses *Sir William Hamilton* of *Prestoun*, Master *John Vans* Keeper of the *Tolbooth* of *Edinbargh*.

A Copy of the Interrogators proposed to Alexander Gordon sometime of Earlstoun in the Committee, 25th of September, 1683.

TO Interrogate the said *Alexander Gordon* what Correspondence he did hold with the pretended General Convention from whom he had his Commission. And if he did not write a Letter to, and hold correspondence with them before he came last to *Scotland*, and upon what account he did write that Letter to the said Convention which is mentioned in one Letter to him from one *Michael Sheills*, bearing that the Convention had received his Letter, &c. And if to his knowledge the said pretended Convention General did not hold any exact Correspondence and Intelligence with the disaffected Party and other their Adherents both in *England* and in the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and what the said Correspondence was and if it was not to the weakning and diminishing if not to the ruining and overturning of His Majesties Government both in Church and State as it is now Established within His Majesties Dominions.

2. Upon what account was he moved to accept of the said Commission and what other Instructions he had from the said pretended Convention General in order to the Methods he was to take for inviting the assistance and supply of the Forreign States and Churches unto which he was Commissionate and if he had not Instructions for imploring their Aid by Supply of Money and other Necessaries for fitting and capacitating the distressed Party in *Scotland* to subvert and overturn, at least to resist His Majesties Government in this Kingdom.

3. Who were the Persons who did sit and assist in the said Convention General when his Commission was ordered, and who did preside thereat. And that he would declare such of the Members of the said Convention as he either knew or heard of by their proper Names and Sir - Names and place of their Residence and from whom he received the foresaid Commission, and who were present at the delivery of the same to him, and what a person *Mr. James Ren-vicle* is who subscribes as Clerk to the said Commission, and if that was his own true or only a borrowed Name; And if the same was borrowed that he would declare what his true Name is, and where his place of Residence was, and if he knows what is become of him since, or where he now is, and to interrogate him after the same manner in relation to *Michael Sheills*.

4. If the said General Convention was not composed of Persons sent from particular Districts within this Kingdom and how many
such

such Districts there were and who were the leading Persons within these particular Districts and what sort of Persons they were who were Commissionate from these reserved Districts to the pretended General Convention. And what farther he knows in Relation to the Government and management of Affairs within these particular Districts.

5. To interrogate the said *Alexander Gordon* what Persons he knew either in *Scotland, England, Ireland*, or in the United Provinces of the *Neatherlands* that did hold Correspondence with the said pretended Convention General in order to their acting and consulting of their Affairs or concerting of measures and Methods to be taken in the Prosecution of their purposes and designs, &c.

Interrogators to be put to the said Alexander Gordon in Relation to the late Horrid Conspiracy.

I*mprimis*, That the said *Alexander Gordon* would ingenuously declare the true and Genuine meaning and sense of that Letter written to him by *Jo. N.* from *London* and would give a full and satisfactory Account thereof to the Lords of the Committee such as may satisfie rational and knowing Men conform to the meaning of the Writer, who was his Correspondent, and who would never have writ to him in Riddles and Mysteries, seeing by the Letter it appears that he was informing *Alexander Gordon* with the State of their Affairs and with the measures and resolutions they had already taken. And therefore to interrogate him who this Correspondent was who subscribes *Jo. N.* and where he resided and what was his Trade and Occupation and with whom else he the said *Alexander* did know him to keep Correspondence, and how he became to be acquainted with him, and of that way and manner of writing under the Metaphor of Trade and Commerce, &c. Had not been conceived and agreed to betwixt the said *Alexander* and the said *Jo. N.* and their party before thereby to vail and disguise their Rebellious contrivances and who were present at the contriving of such a Metaphorical way of Writing besides the said *Alexander* and *Jo. N.* and if these and the like Methods were not a common Rule and Practise of these Barbarous and execrable Conspirators for disguising of their Horrid and Bloody Designs against the Person of His Sacred Majesty and Royal Brother and for rising in Arms against his Majesty and his Government.

2. What he knows in relation to the said Horrid Conspiracy against His Majesties Person and the Person of his Royal Brother or of rising in Arms against His Majesty and Government and who were

C c

accessory

accessory to the said Horrid Designs either in *Scotland, England, Ireland*, or any where abroad, whither in the United Provinces of the *Netherlands* or else where, and that he would give an account of them in so far as he knows by their Names Sir-Names and Places of residence and such other designs as he knew them by, and likewise that he would give an account of the particular designs methods and contrivances treated upon and concerted for the rising in Arms against the King and Government either in *Scotland, England or Ireland*, and by what Persons the said Treasures and Designs were carried on as to all which he would give a particular and distinct account to the Lords of the Committee.

3. To interrogate him anent the other Letter Written to him under the Name of *Mr. Pringle*, and what was the true meaning thereof and by whom the same was written, and if the Trade therein specified do not relate to the condition of the Fanatick and disaffected Party, and what other import the said Letter does bear and from what place of the world the same came.

A Copy of the Examination of Alexander Gordon late of Earlstoun.

Edinburgh, 25th of September, 1683.

The Earl of *Linlithgow*.
 Lord *Livingston*.
 Lord President of Session.
 Lord *Collintoun*.
 Lord *Castlebil*

JUSTICES,

The Lord *Pitmedden*.
 The Lord *Harcarrs*.

The Earl of *Linlithgow* Elected President.

TO the first Interrogator answers, That the first time he met with that pretended Convention was near the Inner Kirk of *Kyle* in the Fields about two years ago; and there were about Fourscore persons or thereby; and that he was brought there from his own House by one *Jo. Nisbet*, whom the Declarant knows not further than that he is a West-Country-man about *Glasgow*; and that *Jo. Nisbet* is another *Jo. Nisbet* that wrote a Letter to him to *Holland* under the notion of Trade, relating to the Rising and Rebellion in *England*. And farther, That about a year and half ago he met with another Convention consisting of fourscore persons or thereby in the Fields within five miles of the former place near *Innet-Kirk*, and that very few of them had Swords; to which Meeting he was advertised to come by a Letter sent to his House subscribed by Mr. *James Kennick* who is Clerk to the Convention and heard of no Ministers being amongst them at either of these times and says there were people there from all the Districts in the several Shires of the Kingdom: which Districts he was informed were fourscore; and that he knew none of the persons in either of these Meetings except Mr. *James Kennick* the Clerk, the said *Jo. Nisbet* who came from a District besides *Glasgow*, and *William* and *James Stewarts* who came out of *Galloway* and *Robert Speir* who came from the *Lothians*, and one *Forrest* who came from the Upperward of *Clayd* and that at these general meetings they produced their Commissions from the several

several Districts to the Clerk that it might appear that they were commissionate to get relief for the distrest in their bounds, that the business of the Convention was to provide for those amongst them were in want and for their own security against the dangers they were in, being denounced Fugitives from the Laws, and in hazard to be caught by the Governours; and that he heard nothing treated or spoke amongst them as to rising in Arms, nor knows of any Correspondence these of the Convention had with any in *Ireland*; and as to *England* he supposes there was a Correspondence there, but knows not these that managed it, except the said *Jo. Nisbet*, he having shewn the Declarant a Letter he had from *Michael Sheills* one of the Clerks of the Convention, which he saw in the end of *March* or beginning of *April* last.

To the second Interrogator, the reason why he accepted of the Commission produced, declares, He accepted it upon the account to see if there could be a way found for the distrest Brethren to go abroad, or to have something from abroad to maintain them there.

To the third Interrogator declares, He remembers no more persons were present but these condescended upon in the first Interrogator, which he says was occasioned by his being so long abroad; and although upon seeing their faces he might know several of them, yet knows not their Names, nor the places of their Residence.

To the fourth declares, The said general Conventions were composed of persons sent from the several Districts, of which there were as he heard about fourscore in number, in which fourscore Districts he was told there would have been six or seven thousand men, but knows not of any Gentlemen or leading Men amongst them. As to the Commission it was sent him to *Newcastle* by a common Receiver whom he knows not, directed to him at his Lodging at the Sign of the Vine in the *Gate-side* in *Newcastle*, his Landlords Name being *George Marshal* a publick Inn-keeper, and address to him under the Name of *La Graveil*, being the Name he went by, and that the same was under a Cover of *James Kennick* their Clerk who subscribed it.

To the last Interrogator repeats his answer made to the first Interrogator, and knows no further.

Being further interrogate upon the Interrogators given in anent the Conspiracy in *England*, declares, The the first time he heard of any design of rising in Arms was at the time when the Competition was anent the Sheriffs at *Midsummer* was a year, and then he heard the Duke of *Monmouth* was to Head the Rebels; and this he had from *Jo. Nisbet* and one *Mr. Murray* a Scotch-man then at *London*; and declares, That in *January* last the Declarant being in *Holland* he heard by general report that the late Earl of *Argyle* was to raise some thousand Highlanders to assist the Rebels in *England* by making a diversion, and was to get a Sum of Money for that effect; and that in *March* last he having received a Letter from *Jo. Nisbet* in *Holland*, he came over to *London*, where he met with the said *Nisbet* and *Murray*, who told the Declarant they designed to rise presently in *England* and

and to Rendezvous in Six or Seven places at one time particularly at *Coventry* and *London* and that they computed several Thousands in *York-shire* who were to joyn with them. That *Murray* desired the Declarant to go along with him to meet with the late Lord *Russel* and *Gray* and the Lord *Wharton* (but of *Wharton* they say-
ed they were not very sure of him being a feared Man) and with Mr. *Ferguson* and spoke of several old Officers of *Cromwells* that were to be there but the Declarant not being for the present Rising shunn'd to meet with these persons or any of them, and both *Nisbet* and *Murray* told the Declarant that Sir *John Cockram* was with them and heard from these Two Persons that both the *Cessnocks* were concerned in that business. As to the Letter written by *Jo. N.* of the 20th of *March*, and directed for the Declarant at *Rotterdam* Declares that *Jo. Nisbet* sent the said Letter and that under the Metaphor of Trade throughout the whole Letter is meant the design of Rising in Arms and a Rebellion and that by the Words (dispatching the old rotten Stuff) is meant either the excluding the Sectaries from joyning with them or destroying the Government both Civil and Ecclesiastick which last the Declarant supposes rather to be the Words and that by the Factors are meant their Emissaries for carrying on the Rebellion; and for that strange thing that was to fall out that week as the next the Declarant thinks is meant the suddain Muster of the Rebels. In the close of the Letter which says things are full as high as I tell you, is meant that the Rebellion was instantly to break out, and having met with *Jo. Nisbet* after his coming from *Holland* the said *Nisbet* explained to him that the sense of the said Letter was as is above said.

As to a Letter direct to the Declarant under the name of *Pringle* of the 2 *May* 1683, declares, That the Name of the Subscriber which is blotted out was so blotted before it came to his Hand, but by the Contents of it he knows its from one *Rob. Johnston* a Tenant or Vassal to the Lord *Gray* on the Border and that the Traders and Trading there spoke of is the designed Rebellion and that the said *Robert Johnston* offered to come to *Scotland* with the Declarant to have seen some of our disaffected people here and to have met with them. And that *A. T.* mentioned in the said Letter which the Letter says laboured to undervalue the disaffected party in *Scotland* which he calls your Goods, is the Name of *Andrew Young* who stays about *Newcastle* whom he supposes to be a suspect Person because he was feared that Colonel *Struthers* would apprehend him. And that he supposes the way that that Letter came to his Hand was from some Persons that were at a Meeting at Midsummer about that time, where was present several of those People that had Commission from the several Districts, but that he himself was not at that Meeting.

Examination of Mr. Steil and Andrew Oliver anent Mr. Aaron Smith's coming to Scotland, & his going to Sir J. Cockram's House at Ochiltree. Edinburgh 11th of December, 1683.

MR. Thomas Steil in *Jedwart-Forest* declares, that in *February* last, an English Gentleman coming to *Jedwart* being recommended to the Declarant by one *David Sheriff* Stabler in *Newcastle*, only that he might direct him to *Ochiltree*, spoke only

to him of *Carolina* Business anent which he was to transact with Sir *John Cockram*; and that the Declarant got him one *Andrew Oliver* in *Jedwart-Forest* for hire to be his guide to *Douglas*, and that the said *Oliver* went with him from that to Sir *John Cockrams* and declares he knew not his name and had no knowledge of him, but that he was called when he was at *Jodwart*, Clerk, but afterwards heard he was called *Smith*.

Andrew Oliver in *Barwick* Tenant to the Marquess of *Douglas* being Examined declares, a little before Seed-time last the Declarant met with Mr. *Thomas Steil* at *Linalie* the Marquess's House, of purpose to bring home his Wife from *Douglas* to *Jedburgh-Forest*, and the Declarant being upon his way and coming to Provost *Ainslie's* House in *Jedburgh*, and there being a Stranger there an English man ready to take Horse to go to the West, the said Mr. *Thomas Steil* having told the Deponent there was a Stranger who knew not the way and would be desirous of his company, and the Deponent having called for the Stranger in the House he and he took Horse together and rode to *Peebles* that night and the next day came to *Douglas*, and the Stranger upon the way told his Name was *Samuel Clerk*, which he thinks was the next day after they came from *Jedburgh*; and the next day the Stranger not being able to get a Guide, to convey him to *Ochiltree*, at the desire of Mr. *Thomas Steil's* Wife did go along with him from *Douglas* to *Ochiltree*, and the Stranger went into the House of *Ochiltree* to call for the Laird; the Deponent not having gone in with him, where he staid about one quarter of an Hour and came back to a House in the Town where the Deponent was to Lodge. That the Deponent heard from the Stranger that his business with the Laird of *Ochiltree* was concerning *Carolina* business, and of their design to send Families there in the Spring to Plant, and that he commended the Country.

And. Oliver. Jo. Edenburgen.

Edenburgh, Sederunt and Journals of Council, 20 Dec. 1683.

MR. *Thomas Steil* Chamberlain to the Marquis of *Douglas*, being Prisoner as alleadged, Entertaining and Corresponding with *Aaron Smith* when he was in *Scotland*, and providing him a Guide to Sir *John Cokram's* House of *Ochiltree*, who being Examined with the said Guide and all that appears is, That the said *Aaron Smith*, under the Name of *Clark*, was Recommended by one *David Sheriff*, Inn-keeper and Stabler of *Newcastle*, to *Steil*, as being his Acquaintance when he came to *Jedburgh*, to help him to one that should guide him the way being a Stranger, without any suspicion or knowledge of his being a person guilty of any Crime or evil Design. The Lords upon consideration of the Bill appoint a Letter to be written to the Secretaries to cause Examine *Aaron Smith* upon the time of his coming to *Jedburgh*, and what past betwixt him and *Steil* and any other Interrogator proper, seeing it's said that the said *Aaron Smith* denied he was ever in *Scotland*; and that another Letter be written to the Mayor of *Newcastle* to Examine the Inn-keeper; and in the mean time allows *Steil* to be at liberat on Caution to appear when called, under the penalty of 2000 Marks; and that he shall not go off the Country without Licence, to prevent any practizing with the Inn-keeper.

A

Alexander Gordon of Earlston, his Deposition before a Committee of His Majesties Privy-Council, and two of the Justices. Edenburg the 25th of September, 1683.

Alexander Gordon being further interrogate upon the Interrogators given in anent the Conspiracy in *England*, declares, That the first time he heard of any Design of rising in Arms, was at the time when the competition was anent the Sheriffs at *Midsummer* was a year, and then he heard the Duke of *Monmouth* was to head the Rebels; and this he had from *John Nisbet*, and one Mr. *Murray* a Scotch-man then at *London*, and declares, That in *January* last the Declarant being in *Holland*, he heard by general report that the late Earl of *Argile* was to raise some thousands of Highlanders to assist the Rebels in *England* by making a diversion, and was to get a sum of money for that effect; and that in *March* last he having received a Letter in *Holland* from *John Nisbet* then in *London*, he came over to *London*, where he met with the said *Nisbet* and *Murray*, who told the Declarant, they designed to rise presently in *England*, and to Rendezvous in six or seven places at one time, particularly at *Coventry* and *London*, and that they computed several thousands in *Yorkshire* who where to joyn with them; That *Murray* desired the Declarant to go along with him to meet with the late Lords *Russel* and *Gray*, and the Lord *Wharton*, (but of *Wharton* they said they were not very sure, being a fearful man) and with Mr. *Ferguson*, and spoke of several old Officers of *Cromwells* that were to be there, but the Declarant not being for the present rising, shunned to meet with these persons, or any of them; and both *Nisbet* and *Murray* told the Declarant, that Sir *John Cochran* was with them, and heard from these two persons, that both the *Cessnocks* were concerned in that Business. As to the Letter written by *Jo. N.* of the 20th of *March*, and directed for the Declarant at *Rotterdam*, declares that *John Nisbet* wrote the said Letter, and that under the Metaphor of Trade throughout the whole Letter, is meant the design of rising in Arms and a Rebellion; and that by the word *Dispatching the old rotten stuff*, is meant either the excluding the Sectaries from joyning with them, or destroying the Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, which last the Declarant supposes rather to be the meaning of the words; and that by the *Factots* are meant their Emisaries for carrying on the Rebellion; And for that strange thing that was to fall out that Week or the next, the Declarant thinks is meant the sudden muster of the Rebels; In the close of the Letter which says, *Things are full as high as I tell you*, is meant that the Rebellion was instantly to break out; And having met with *John Nisbet* after his coming from *Holland*, the said *Nisbet* explained to him that the Sence of the said Letter was as is above-said.

As to the little Letter directed to the Declarant under the name of *Pringle*, of the second of *May*, 1683, declares that the name of the Subscriber: which is blotted out, was so blotted before it came to his hand?

E e

but

but by the Contents of it, he knows it is from one *Robert Johnston*, a Tenant or Vassal to the Lord *Gray* on the Border; and that the *Traders* and *Trading* there spoke of, is the designed Rebellion; and that the said *Robert Johnston* offered to come into *Scotland* with the Declarant, to have seen some of our disaffected people here, and to have met with them; and that *A. T.* mentioned in the said Letter, which the Letter says *laboured to undervalue the disaffected party in Scotland*, which he calls *your Goods*, is the name of *Andrew Young*, who stays about *Newcastle*, whom he supposes to be a suspected person, because he was afraid Colonel *Struthers* would apprehend him: And that he supposes the way that that Letter came to his hand, was from some person that was at a Meeting at *Tweeds-Moor* about that time, where were present several of these people that had Commission from the several Districts, but he himself was not at that Meeting. *Sic subscribitur*

Linlithgow I. P. C.

Alex. Gordon.

Here follows the Letter signed *Jo. N.* which was found upon *Earlston*.

Sir,

ON Saturday last I had the occasion of seeing a Letter from you, directed for *Mrs. Gaunt*, in whose absence *Mrs. Ward* had received it, at the reading of which I was not a little troubled, considering my full resolutions signified to you in my last; for effectuating of which I had spoke for Passage, and taken my farewell of *Mother Gaunt*, she going into the Country: And that very Week I was set upon by that Gentleman with whom I stay, and *Jo. Johnston* with some others to stay but a Month, and if that did not accomplish somewhat in hand to help Trading, then I should be no longer detained. After I was prevailed to retract so far, I ordered *Jo.* who had time at command, to give you an ample account of matters; and withal, *Jo.* was desired by our Friends from Scotland to stand here in my place the like engagements of Secrecy, &c. being taken, and thereupon I ordered him to shew you the grounds of my staying, and to desire if you inclined to cross the Water to come this way, but since many are the confused, yea troubled thoughts that have possessed me for yielding, concerning which, as also my yielding to it, take the subsequent account.

In my last, or it precedent to it, I shewed you that Trading was very low here, and many breaking, which has made the Merchants (such as they are) to think that desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures: and while they have some Stock, it will be better to venture out, than to keep Shop and sit still till all be gone, and then they shall not be able to act, but let all go: Which resolution I thought a thing not to confide in, seeing the most of them are Fire-side Merchants, and love not to venture where storms are any thing apparent. But about my departing they shewed the Model of Affairs in such order, that I see venture they must, and venture they will; whereupon they first demanded how our Trade would be carried on. Answer, they knew well what Goods had proven most prejudicial to the Trade, and therefore they thought to insist upon Negatives, in which whatever I proposed is as-
sented

sented to, as I find; and thus they thought best to still some Criticks in the Trade: And by this means first to endeavour the dispatching the old rotten Stuff before they order what to bring home next. This lookt somewhat strange to me, but when I consider all circumstances, I think they for themselves do best in it: For our Merchants I made account onely to have had some stock for to set the broken ones up again, and so bid them here farewell, and they to try their way, and we ours; Since they think fit that some of these whom we have found (as you will say, when you hear them named) treacherous dealers in our Trade, consulted, and accordingly have done: Whereupon I fear, or rather hope that our Merchants, though broke, will rather desire to live a while longer as they are, than joyn with such, &c. to advance the Trade; unless surer grounds of their fidelity be gotten, then is, or can be expected, and this is the bottom of all my sorrow. But to proceed, I find (if all hold that is intended) that they think it is almost at a point to set forward, if they had their Factors home, who are gone to try how the Country will like such Goods, as they are for, or against the making sale off. Friends, I mean Merchants, wrote to me, that after I had spoken to you, possibly you might come this way, the better thereby to advise them what to do in this case, for I have signified somewhat of it to them, but not so far as this; because I thought to have seen you long ere this time. But I hope you will not misconstrue of my staying, seeing in it I designed nothing but advancement of our Trade; but once this Week these Factors sent for will be here, and then matters will in instanti, either off or on, break, or go thorow. Wherefore in reference to Friends, I desire you will advise me what to do, if you cannot, or think it not convenient to come here; if you do, let a Letter precede, and if any strange thing fall out this * Week or the next, I will again post it towards you; I think when this and the next Week is gone (and no News comes from you) that I shall set forward, being still so ready, as that in twelve hours I can bid adieu: The Whiggs are very low as well in City as in the Subburbs, all Meetings being every Sunday beset with Constables to keep them out, and what they get is stollen, either at Evening or Morning. This Winter many of the great Bankers and Goldsmiths in Lombard-street are broken and gone: The Bantam Factory in the Indies is taken by the Dutch: Confusion, Confusion in Town and Country, such as you never saw. Mrs. Ward and several others desire to be remembered to you. My endeared respects to your self and B. with the young men arrived. This I have writ in short, and in hast, expecting a Line with as great hast as you see is needful, for Matters are full as high as I tell you. Farewel.

* Note, That this week His Majesty was expected from New-Market; but came eight days sooner, by reason of the fire.

From your Friend and Servant, while

London, March 20.
1683.

Jo. N.

Postscript, Be sure that you direct not for Bednal-green; but for me at Mr. Mead's in Stepney, near London.

A Letter as it was written with *Argiles* own hand, which was addressed to Major *Holms*, and marked Number 3. *June 21.*

Though I cannot by this Post send you a full account of your Affairs, yet I send you as much as may make you take measures what Bills to draw upon me, which I hope you will fully understand by Mr. B's help; the whole account amounted to several Pages; but I only give you one to total, as sufficient.

I gone so I and refuse object first you time much is way the our would of altogether concerned do upon absolutely do to do effectually as that it be to is at all be 335759424244575769 money 36 4757-5657 of and to 69224736535657 and they have is at be that no some their 2345535958, &c. 50000 4548464758 part as against the but concurrence from be less nor like place and interest is small and power against need do bring which *Birch* that cannot time are out upon an 324753235657 to 56444256594858444367 projected meat very may little done the been Purie I to shall my lists I to great venture they prospect provided have can willing God given conference week *Brown* I of things said some the now their my head guard mention 3243446757-48465257 things which to your hope some ago as over some if do spoke for of know and encouragement confer have and self be order resolve and to reckon all and undertake honest or was far be Shooes undertaking many of to for purchase was as is the a possibly us of by force it tho so how the credit for time *Birch* and some greatest them concerned will for and to and 404843 station good may onely the if more will if should expect tollerably standing and by and necessar the the more the hazarded to it 8 and think urge to necessar I the that so affairs have business very I possible of I send here against my till what little upon know not which mony 25405748575840524244 I service any what shall resolve thee at did least effectually thought and far if business reckoned for still the there I or stuck you upon money by first sum if then Bills 26435640465359 52 5769455356424457 well that 3841444058 51595058458594357 need trouble something very a frighten the probably not 2000 the tho the once for and 575942 4244575735 will 4057 5748575840524244 and to money could foolish *Browne* many the not to Gods *Brand* besides stay *Job* seat yet to proposed 322240565157 a deal the things as all once less any drink well on know I as pay whether never the received to any calculate about to that that the such with you I other I I for considerable be particular add I are of left I but all have it Enemies to cannot to Friends made part I writ with may be service Mr. an whole there consider persons it when knowing any and payments to I it low shall little little meaning Intelligence thing out had which Tents usual whole with 673151485048584840 and by the more of if but the that blessing raise a 54565358445758405258 4753565744 can Virgins supply to call 485650405243 not keep imaginable tho them 485-3485244 standing many number 25 4753565733 onely at standing a 5159505848585943 first considerable with more can them Countrey

trey 425351514052434443 in and there 40565157 it was Weeks half
 I so to at 600 think needs precise I the the it a within what requisite not
 Sum truly this grounds to say Mr. thing nor know they as hath the
 grounds occasioned I they both do is Red only let I distance in I half in
 I the little would 4057485758405242 first shall number very 1000
 and the consider small confels them work proposed pleased cannot are
 2000 Brand it 544453545044 the be 40565157 then be 404444056-
 4852464604584744564443 little 455356424457575844565048-
 5244 have the but it will 455356574457 and as we yet together onely
 it for buy it consider imploy better Interest small so to some 47535657
 a future the to total the absolute of and designed and Waggon are but
 of proposed or and because what add as our meddle touch of I knowing
 Merchant there it that what is 404540485644405844515458 Red I
 not but I of expect of up I enforce at be that should a is in considerable put
 I done this all have by the not to had before able will I if and a they have
 will is for 5753 504348535956 shall necessars the or of if is is they very
 incident for the dayly not Cloaths necessar to there the necessar best of
 the 60405639 events little to hope 5644564457 many Sum were for so
 in we them more will in and it had any many yet be may all 514850-
 48584840 and will it without and not but more got triple on is very
 45535959 now be God and but is what a if odds it as near named not
 bruff of not less power proposed an of thought my and go you in or re-
 solved so I intend hear them our 45564844524357 to neither to will
 much till any the know on in proposition could what other I of could be
 the and be but that easie were I all differ was absolutely soon more to
 sent above at well right foot their together Provisions the suddenly that
 404258485352 will take will of the be unwilling the will can at is get
 Brand not 40565157 no should the much their not and men the are be
 while do to advantage the husbanding for number is be for 5747534457
 only to whole Provisions Charges good can to II my meddle Money as
 freely for the and be estates do project all after see be I it such you all
 47535657 the yet I distance to dare them direction Gods hands in on
 not prevent and have some help may from a a be pray very II Necessars
 and that to a occasion prices the submit they but not own had made be
 do men some of Sum be necessar 47535657 such bestowed nothing they
 one it Money of Brand not to sent engaged whole with a concerned own
 Money next prove Money far then but some impossible first be be most
 to of 4744564858535657 20000 to up do tho there done case and yet
 number without hard appointed lest 1200 like give will after necessar
 proposed as should leave hard had number I peremptor I 673347535657
 stood possibly those thought juncture I do mention this as as mean other I
 as neither give know offer have. *Adieu.*

	<i>Gil.</i>	<i>St.</i>
The total Sum is	128	8.
which will be payed to you by Mr. B.		

Follows in plain writing on the back of the Letter.

I have found two of the Books I wrote to Mr. B. were lost, I be-
 lieve he hath the blew one; we have received his Letter: I have
 nothing more to say to him at present; I hope he knows how
 to write to me, and understands my Address, and to instruct
 you; if he do not, I have lost six hours work. *Adieu.*

*

Ff

The

The Decypher of the said Letter as it was done in *England*.

Sir,

June 21.

Though I cannot by this Post send you a full account of your Affairs, yet I send you as much as may make you take measures what Bills to draw upon me, which I hope you will fully understand by Mr. B's help; the whole account amounted to several Pages; but I onely give you one to total, as sufficient.

I gone so I and refuse object first you time much is way the our would of altogether concerned do upon absolutely do to do effectually as that it be to is at all be 33 success 69 Money 36 Horse of and to 69 2 H 36 orse and they have is at be that no some there 23 Foot &c. 50000 fight part as against the but concurrence from be less nor like place and interest is small and power against need do bring which *Birch* that cannot time are out upon an 32 Ho 23 rise to recruited projected Meat very may little done the been purse I to shal my lists I to great venture they prospect provided have can willing God given conference week *Brown* I of things said some the now there my Head guard mention 32 de 67 signs things which to your hope some ago as over some if do spoke for of know and encouragement confer have and self be order resolve and to reckoning all and undertake honest or was far be Shoes undertaking many of to for purchase was as is the a possibly us of by force it tho so how the credit for time *Birch* and some greatest them concerned will for and to and aid station good may onely the if more will if should expect tollerably standing and by and necessar the the more the hazarded to it 8 and think urge so necessar I the that so affairs have business very I possible of I send hear against my till what little upon know not which Money 25 Assistance I service any what shall resolve the at did least effectually thought and far if business reckoned for still the there I or stuck you upon Money by first Sum if then Bills 20 Dragoons 69 Forces well that 38 beat Multitudes need trouble something very a frighten the probably not 2000 the tho the once for and success 35 will assistance and to Money could foolish *Brown* many the not to Gods Brand besides stay Job feat yet to proposed 32 22 Arms a deal the things as all once less any drink well on know I as pay whether never the received to any calculate about to that that the such with you I other II for considerable be particular add I are of left I but all have it Enemies to cannot to an account to Friends made part I write wish may be service Mr. an whole there consider persons it when knowing any and payment to I it low shall little little meaning intelligence thing out had which Tents usual whole with 67 31 Militia and by the more of it but the that blessing raise a Protestant Horse can Virgins supply to call *Ireland* not keek imaginable tho them joyn standing many number Horse onely at standing a multitude first considerable with more can them Countrey commanded in and there Arms it was Weeks half I so to at 600 think needs precise I the the it a within what requisite not sum truly this grounds to say Mr. thing nor know they as hath the grounds occasioned I they both do is Red only let I distance in I half in I the little would assistance first shall number very 1000 and the consider small confes

fels then work proposed please cannot are 2000 *Brand* it people the be
Arms them be *appearing* gathered little *Forces* *Stirling* have the but it
will *Forces* and as we yet together only it for buy it consider imploy bet-
ter interest small so to some *Horse* a future the to total the absolute of and
design'd and Waggon are but of proposed or and because what add as our
meddle touch I knowing Merchant there is that what is *affair attempt*
Red I not but I of expect of up I enforce at be that should a is in conside-
rable put I done this all have by the not to had before able will I if and a
they have will is for *Souldier* shall necessars the or of if is is they very in-
cident for the daily not Cloaths necessar to their the necessar best of the
War 39 events little to hope *reprefs* many sum were for so in we them
more will in and it had any many yet be may all *Militia* and will it with-
out and not but more got triple on is very *Foot* now be God and but is
what a if odds it as near named not Brush of not less power proposed an
of thought my and go you in or resolved so I intend hear them our
friends to neither to will much till any the know on in proposition could
what other I of could be the and be but that easie were I all differ was ab-
solutely soon more to sent above at well right *Foot* their together provisi-
ons the suddenly that *allion* will take will of the be unwilling the will can
at is get *Brand* not *Arms* no should the much there not and Men the are
be while do to advantage the Husbanding for number is be for *Shoes* on-
ly to whole provisions charges good can I I my meddle money as freely
for the an be Estates do project all after see be I it such you all *Horse* the
yet I distance to dar them direction Gods hands in on not prevent and
have some help may from a a be pray very II necessars and that to a oc-
casion prices the submit they but not own had made be do men some of
sum be necessar *Horse* such bestowed nothing they one it money of *Brand*
not to sent engaged whole with a concerned own money next prove mo-
ney far then but some impossible first be be most to of *Heretors* 20000 to
up do tho there done case and yet number without hard appointed least
1200 like give will after necessar proposed as should leave hard had
number I peremptor J 67 33 *Horse* stood possibly those thought Juncture
I do mention this as as mean other I as neither give know offer have.
Adieu.

Gil. St
The total Sum is 128---8.
which will be paid to you
by Mr. B.

Written in plain sence on the back of the Letter.

I have found two of the Books I wrote to Mr. B. were lost, I be-
lieve he hath the Blue on: we have received his Letter. I have
nothing more to say to him at present: I hope he knows how
to write to me, and understands my Address, and to instruct
you, if he do not I have lost six hours work. *Adieu.*

The Copy of the said Letter, as it was given in by Mr. Spence, according to the plain Sence thereof, without the Preface or Postscript, being set down already with the Cypher and Decypher.

I know not the grounds our Friends have gone upon, which hath occasioned them to offer so little Money as I hear, neither know I what Assistance they intend to give; and till I know both, I will neither refuse my service, nor do so much as object against any thing is resolved, till I first hear what Mr. *Red, or any other you send, shall say; onely in the mean time I resolve to let you know as much of the Grounds I go on, as is possible at this distance, and in this way. I did truly in my Proposition mention the very least Sum I thought could do our Business effectually, not half of what I would have thought requisite in an other Juncture of Affairs; and what I proposed I thought altogether so far within the power of those concerned, that if a little less could possibly do the Business, it would not be stood upon: I reckoned the assistance of the Horse absolutely necessary for the first Brush, and I do so still: I shall not be peremptory to urge the precise number named, but I do think there needs very near that number effectually; and I think a 1000 as easie had as 8 or 600, and it were hard that it stuck at the odds; I leave it to you to consider if all should be hazarded, upon so small a differ. As to the Money, I confess what was proposed is more by half than is absolutely necessary at the first weeks work, but soon after all the Sum was proposed, and more will be necessary, if it please God to give success, and then Arms cannot be sent like Money by Bills: There are now above 1200 Horse and Dragoons, and 2000 Foot at least of standing Forces in †Brand very well appointed and tollerably well commanded, it is right hard to expect that Countrey people on Foot, without Horse, should beat them the triple their number; and if multitudes can be got together, yet they will need more Arms, more Provision, and have more trouble with them: But the Case is, if something considerable be not suddenly done at the very first appearing, and that there be onely a multitude gathered without action, though that may frighten a little, it will do no good, the standing Forces will take up some station, probably at Stirling, and will to their aid not onely have the Militia of Twenty thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, but all the Heretors, &c. to the number it may be of Fifty thousand; and though many will be unwilling to fight for the standing Forces, yet the most part will once joyn, and many will be as concerned for them, as any can be against them: and though we had at first the greatest success imaginable, yet it is impossible but some will keep together, and get some concurrence and assistance, not only in *Brand but from †Birch, and Ireland; it will not then be time to call for more Arms, far

* Carparts.

† Scotland.

* Scotland

† England.

fra less for Money to buy them, no Money nor Credit could supply it, we should prove like the Foolish Virgins: Consider in the next place how * *Brown* can imploy so much Money, and so many Horse, better for their own interest, tho the Protestant Interest were not concerned; is it not a small Summ, and a small Force, to raise so many men with, and by Gods blessing, to repress the whole Power of * *Brand*, that some hope are engaged against us, besides the Horse to be sent, need possibly stay but a little while to do a Job, if future events do not bring the seat of the War to *Brand*, which is yet more to the advantage of * *Birch*, as to the total of the Money that was propos'd by the best Husbanding it, cannot purchase Arms, and absolute necessities for one time, for a Militia of the number they are to deal with, and there is nothing out of the whole design'd to be bestowed upon many things usual, and necessary for such an Undertaking, as Tents, Waggon, Cloaths, Shoes, Horse, Horse-shoes, all which are not only necessary to be once had, but dayly to be recruited, far less out of the whole summ projected, was any thing proposed for Provisions of Meat or Drink, Intelligence, or incident Charges; some very Honest well-meaning, and very good Men, may undertake on little, because they can do little, and know little what is to be done. All I shall add is, I made the Reckoning as low as if I had been to pay it out of my own Purse; and whether I meddle or meddle not, I resolve never to touch the Money, but to order the payment of Necessaries, as they shall be received; and I shall freely submit my self to any knowing Souldier for the Lists, and any knowing Merchant for the Prices I have calculated, when there is an occasion to confer about it, it will be a great encouragement to persons that have Estates to venture, and that consider what they do, that they know that there is a project, and prospect of the whole Affair, and all Necessaries provided for such an attempt: If after I have spoke with Mr. † *Red*, I see I can do you Service, I will be very willing; if I be not able, I pray God some other may; but before it be given over, I wish I had such a conference as I writ of to you a Week ago, for I expect not all from * *Browne*, some considerable part of the Horse may I hope be made up by the help of your particular friends. I have yet some things to add, to enforce all I have said, which I cannot at this distance, and some things are to be done to prevent the designs of Enemies, that I dare not now mention, lest it should put them on their Guard, I have a considerable direction in my head, but all is in Gods hands.

* Dissenting Lords.

* Scotland.

* England.

† *Carstairs*.

* Dissenting Lords.

The manner of Decyphering is explain'd more at large in another Book, called, an Account of Discoveries made in Scotland, &c.

*Part of William Spence his Deposition.*At the Castle of *Edenburgh*, the 19th. of *August*, 1684

MR. *William Spence*, of the Age 33 Years, or thereby, not married, Solemnly sworn, Depones, That in the Paper subscribed by him; the Letter dated 21. *June*, and the other without date, marked *A*, are written plain, and in the true Sense, so far as his knowledge reaches, and that he had no Key to open the Letters with, but the Alphabetical Cypher: That by the 128 *Gilders*, 8 *Stivers*, mentioned in the end of the long Letter, he understands that it is the Key thereof; and by the payment of the same, he understands the way of using it. That he does truly believe there was an Insurrection intended, within these two Years; and as for what is to come, he cannot tell what the People abroad may be doing: That he had often heard of Designs and Associations; but that they were directly intended to hinder the *Duke* his Succession to the Crown, he cannot say: For all that he understood was pretended for the Ground of any designs of Arms, was the defence of the *Protestant Religion*, the Liberties of the Kingdom; and if against the *Duke* his Succession only, in so far as that might be prejudicial to these; and that he thinks upon the *King's* death Troubles may probably arise: That Mr. *West*, to whom the Letters were directed; was not one of that name; but Major *Holms*, to the best of his knowledge: And this is the Truth as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscribitur.*

W. Spence.

*The Information of Robert Smith, formerly of the
Parish of Duncore, in the Sherifdom of Dum-
freis, in the Kingdom of Scotland.*

AT all the Conventicles for near two years before the Rebellion in the year 1679. There were great Contributions of Money (which were chearfully given) under the pretence of a Subsistance for their Ministers, and the Poor of their Perswasion (the only design that was known to the meaner sort of People) but the greatest part of the Money was employ'd for Arms and Ammunition for a General Rising: In order whereunto the Phanatics in the Months of *April*, *May* and *June*, 1679. were preparing themselves, by keeping several great Field-Conventicles (both in the West and South)

in

in which were considerable Numbers of Armed Men. And although they were generally very fond and forward to put their design in Execution; yet it was hastned a Month sooner then was intended, by the Skirmish that happened about the middle of June within two Miles of Lowdon-hill, between a Party of his Majesties Forces under the Command of Captain (now Colonel) Graham of Claverhouse, and a strong Field-Conventicle, in which I was my self with a Party of a Troop of Horse (levyed in Nithsdale in the end of May, and beginning of June) whercof I was Cornet, under Mr. William Ferguson of Caillock, Captain, and John Gibson of Auchinchein Lieutenant. The same Night after that Skirmish, I was at the Earl of Lowdon's House with Robert Hamilton, John Balfour, and David Haxton (both Murderers of the late Arch-Bishop of Saint Andrews) John Ker in Minebole, and several others, in number about Twenty Seven Horse. The Earl himself was in the House, and I saw him pass into the Garden; but I did not perceive that he came into our Company, though I have reason to believe that Robert Hamilton was with his Lordship and his Lady in some of the Chambers, because I saw him leaving us all of his Company in the great Hall, and going into the private Rooms, where I am sure was my Lady, as I do not doubt but my Lord was also, for it was from thence that I saw him pass into the Garden: But my Lady did publickly that Night entertain and lodge all the Company. The next morning at four of the Clock we came from that Earls House, and made all the haste we could to Hamilton, in order to joyn the Body that we had parted with the day before; and the next day we all Marched to Glasgow, where (the morning after) we were beaten by some Troops and Companies of the Kings Forces, and thereupon returned to Hamilton. From thence I went in Company of Mr. David Williamson (who was a Preacher and a Captain) with Sixscore Horse to the Shire of Galloway, where we met and joyned Six Troops of Horse and about as many Companies of Foot that were Levied in that Country and Nithsdale for our Assistance. Thereafter we went into Dumfries where we stay'd a night, and had notice of the Kings Forces coming to the Kirk of Shotts; wherupon we march'd with all possible Diligence to joyn the rest of the Rebels at Hamilton; seizing all the Arms and Horses that we could find by the way, especially at Drumlanrig, Thorn-hill, Sanebar, Cumnock, Cessnock, Newmills and Streven; but at Cessnock we received four hundred Lances, which we were told were the free and voluntary Gift of Sir Hugh Campbell, the Father and Sir George, the Son. There was one passage in this march, which I cannot forbear to relate, viz. That as we were passing by the old Castle of Treve (where his late Majesty of blessed Memory had a Garrison, in the beginning of the unhappy Troubles of his Reign) Old Gordon of Earlstown (who in few days after was killed at Bothwell-Bridge) in my hearing spoke to the Officers that were about him as followeth, Gentlemen, I was the Man that commanded the Party which took this Castle from the late King, who had in it about 200 of the Name of Maxwell, of whom the greatest part being Papists we put them all to the Sword, and demolish'd the Castle, as you see it; And now (though an Old Man) I take up Arms against the Son, whom I hope to see go the same way that his Father went: For we can never put

trust

trust in a Covenant Breaker; So Gentlemen, your Cause is good, ye need not fear to fight against a forsworn King.

Upon Saturday the 21st. of June, 1679. the main Body of the Rebels came to *Hamilton*, and lay encamped betwixt that place, and *Bothwell Bridge* until Sunday the 29th. when we were defeated by the King's Forces, During which time there came to our Camp great store of Provisions and Arms from *Glasgow*, *Hamilton*, *Lanrick*, *Lesmahago*, *Newmills*, and several other places in *Clisdale*, and the parts adjacent; but I do not know the particular Persons from whom they were sent, save only what I have said concerning our receiving the 400 Lances at *Cesnock*: But about a week before our coming to that Place, as we were passing by the Earl of *Galloway's* House of *Garlis*, his Brother the Laird of *Rymstone* came to see some of the Gentlemen that were of our number, and accompani'd us Ten or Twelve Miles, returning afterwards to his House; but before his going he gave Assurance that both his Brother, the Earl of *Galloway* the Lord *Kenmore* and himself were our Friends: And I did hear him giving great Incouragement to the meaner sort of People that were in Arms with us, by bidding them to be Chearful and Couragious; for he did assure them that they had very good Friends in the Country; and we did believe that within few days thereafter, as well the Earl of *Galloway*, and Lord *Kenmore*, as the said Laird of *Rymstone* would come and joyn with us, and had we been able to continue some time longer together in a considerable Body, and had given the least fail to the King's Forces, we expected that many Persons of great Quality and Interest, would have joyn'd with us: Whereof a perfect Account can be given by *Earlstown* (now a Prisoner in *Edinburg*) if he will but ingenuously declare what he knows.

The Night before the Fight, the Rebels (one *Hamilton Moor*) held a Council of War, consisting of *Robert Hamilton*, *David Haxton* of *Rathillett*, *John Balfour*, *Major Ledmont*, *Mackerellan* of *Barscob*, *Gordon* of *Home*, *Mr. William Ferguson* of *Cairloch*, (my Captain aforesaid,) *Gordon* of *Craig*, *Gorton* of *Newtown*, *Gordon* of *Earlstone Elder*, *Gordon* of *Earlstone Younger*, *Gordon* of *Craichlaw*, Captain *Mackculloch*, *Macdongall* of *Freugh*, Captain *John Smith*, Captain *Home*, *Mr. William Cleland* a Captain of Horse, *Mr. James Fowler* a Captain of Foot, *Andrew Story* a Captain of Foot, and several other Gentlemen and Officers, whose Names I do not at the present remember, but do well know the Places of their abode. There were also several of the Ministers in this Council of War, viz. *Mr. John Welch*, *Mr. Robert Archibald*, *Mr. Alexander Hasty*, *Mr. David Williamson* (who also as I have said before was Captain of a Troop of Horse) *Mr. David Home*, *Mr. John Blakater*, *Mr. John Blackloth*, *Mr. Donald Cargil*, *Mr. John Kid*, *Mr. John King*, *Mr. John Dick*, *Mr. Thomas Forrester*, *Mr. John Dickson*, *Mr. Robert Sandilands*, *Mr. Patrick Vernatt*, and *Mr. John Harraway* with some others: But at this time *Mr. Richard Camron* and his Brother *Mr. Michael*, with some few other Ministers were gone to *Holland* with Moneys to pay for Arms that were formerly brought by *Kersland's* Son (as I was since inform'd) and some other
Pha-

Phanaticks living there. In this Council there were very hot debates betwixt *Welch's* Party (the most considerable of the two) who were content to lay down Arms upon their getting an Indulgence, and *Robert Hamilton's* Party who would rest satisfied with nothing less than the Extirpation of Episcopacy, and setting up a pure Presbyterian Government, as they call'd it. And the Differences were so great betwixt them, that the choice of their chief Officers (which was design'd to have been that Night) was put off till the next day, (being *Sunday*) at Ten in the Forenoon; but were prevented by the King's Army coming before Sun-rising, to the North-end of *Bothwel-Bridge*: However, they did that Night appoint two Commissioners, (viz. Mr. *David Home* and Captain *Mackennloch*) to treat for them with the Duke of *Monmouth*: On whom they waited accordingly about half an Hour before the Fight, but returned without any Success. The general Discourse amongst the Rebels on *Friday* and *Saturday* was, That the Lord *Burgany* would certainly come in to them the *Monday* following (had not the Fight on *Sunday* prevented him) to command their Forces in chief, and to appoint such Field Officers, both for the Horse and Foot as he should think fit, unless they had been appointed by the Council of War before his coming; but in either of the Cases they wereto have had their Commissions from him: For it was most certain, that they would not allow *Robert Hamilton* to be their Commander in chief. The Rebels did frequently and openly express the great Confidence they had in some of their Friends about the Duke of *Monmouth*, and particularly the Lord *Melvil*, the Lord *Newark*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and Sir *Hamilton of Preston* (the Elder Brother of *Robert Hamilton*) besides some others whom I do not now remember, but could know them, if I should hear their Names.

When the King's standing Forces began to pass the *Bridge*, the chief Officers of the Rebels were consulting what was fit for them to do, and it was resolv'd that they should all March away in good Order towards *Carrick*, and the Ruins of *Galloway*, until they should be furnished with Arms and Ammunition, which were Landed at *Borrowstennes* (besides what was expected from *Holland*) but could not then be brought to them, by Reason of the King's Army having been interposed between them and that Place. And moreover they were in Expectation of considerable Reinforcements, both of Horse and Foot, which were on their March from several parts of the Country. But their chief Encouragement to prosecute this Design, was the Confidence they had, that the Duke of *Monmouth* would not put any hardship upon them; which I have good Reason to believe was true; for when I was in Company with all the Rebels Horse (about 1600. in number) less than a mile from the Field of Battle, marching up on a rising Ground (in our Retreat) I look'd over my Shoulder, and saw the King's Horse at a stand, after they had pursued us a little way, which we look'd upon as having been done to favor our escape: For if they had follow'd us, they had certainly kill'd or taken us all, a few only excepted, who were very well mounted; and we were often afterwards told, that they were stop'd by the Duke of *Monmouth's* positive Command, when they were violently pursuing us, after they had quite broke our Foot (consist-

ing upwards of 4000.) and were within less than half a mile of the Body of our Horse (running away) which then was in great Consternation and Confusion: However, we march'd that forenoon in as good Order as we could (twelve miles over a Moor) to *New-mills*, without any of his Majesties Forces giving us the least Disturbance, where we separated, some going towards *Air*, others to *Galloway*, and the rest to *Nithsdale*; amongst which last, were the most resolute of the Officers, to the number of betwixt 45 and 50; who continued together in Arms, going up and down the Country in *Galloway*, *Nithsdale* and other places thereabouts (after all the rest were scattered) until a Party of the King's Forces, under the Command of *Claverhouse* came into *Galloway*, and then we (for I was my self all along with that small remainder of the Rebels) went into the *West*, where we were most kindly entertain'd in many places, though I do not remember the Names of the Persons by whom: But I do well know their Habitations; and I was afterwards told by *Mr. Richard Camron*, and his Brother *Mr. Michael*, that they and several others were sheltered and entertained by *Sir Hugh*, and *Sir George Campbells* at their House of *Cesnock*. After some stay in the *West*, I returned to my own House (*Kilroy*) within four miles of *Dumfries*, where having staid about five or six weeks, the said *Mr. Richard Camron*, and his Brother *Mr. Michael* (who were some short time before returned from *Holland*) came to see me, and stay'd with me two Nights: They told me, that they had bought four small Brass Guns with a considerable quantity of Ammunition and Fire-Arms, which they had in a Readiness, to have been Shipp'd at *Amsterdam*, in Order to their having been landed at *Greenock* when they receiv'd the News of the Defeat at *Bothwell-Bridge*: Whereupon they put up the said Guns, Arms and Ammunition in a secure place in *Amsterdam*, until there should be Occasion for them. The *Sunday* after their coming to my House, *Mr. Richard Camron* kept a Field-Conventicle within a mile of *Sir Robert Dalryell's* House, where were about three thousand in number. The Occasion of this Meeting (where I was present) was to see how the Country stood inclin'd, and who would joyn with him. From thence the said *Mr. Richard* carry'd with him twenty Men (whereof I was one) to the Laird of *St. John's Kirk* (a Cousin of the Lord *Carmichael's*, and I suppose his Name is also *Carmichael*,) whose House is about two miles from *Biggar*, and towards thirty from *Edinburg*, where we stay'd four days: During which, there was several Conventicles kept in the House, at which, the Laird and his Lady were constantly present: And the *Sunday* after we kept a Field-Conventicle on *Tinto-Hill*, to which, there was People gather'd from all Parts of the Country thereabout, to the number of between three or four Thousand, whereof many were well Arm'd. From this Hill I went with *Mr. Richard Camron* aforesaid, and upwards of twenty more to the Lady *Gilkerfclough's* House (a Widow Lady) in *Clidsdale*, where we stay'd a Week, and kept several Conventicles with her. About this time the Duke was come to *Scotland*, and whilst we were in this House, it was one Night at Supper propos'd by *Haxtoun* to kill his Royal Highness, the said Lady being present together with the two *Camrons*, four Gentlemen of the *North*, whom I knew not, and two of my Neighbors whose Names are *John Harper*, and *Robert Nalson*. This

This *Haxtoun* said he would do it himself if he could come at him; and thought, that it might best be done when the Duke was at Dinner; wherefore he asked, If there were any there that would go and observe all the manner of his Royal Highness's Dining? Whether People might get into the Room to see him at Dinner? And if there were any Number, or Crowds of People got in? Saying, That he was too well known to go upon this Errand himself. So Mr. *Michael Camron* undertook it, and took me along with him, who were particularly instructed to observe, whether people could go in with large Coats or Cloaks upon them, and Women with Plads; and whether they could pass the Sentinels with their Swords? And according as he should find matters, he would afterwards contrive the best way to effect the Business. Accordingly we two went, and saw the Duke at Dinner; but as we returned to our Lodging, at one *Danald Mackay's* House, at the Head of the *Comgate*, near the *Grass-market*, *Camron* (by chance) met there a man which knew him; whereupon we both betook our selves immediately to our Horses, and were pursued by Twelve of the King's Dragoons, who followed us so close, that we were forced to part Company; and I went to my own House, where being again in danger by a Party of *Claverhouse's* Troop, and not thinking my self safe, I came into *England*, where I continued three years, and was at many Presbyterian House-Conventicles in *Shrewsbury*, *Brunnigham* and *Bristol*; but never see a Field-Conventicle in this Kingdom; save one at *Clee-hill* (some few miles distant from *Ludlow*) upon a *Sunday* in *May*, 1681, where were met to the number of upwards of 1000; and some of Note were amongst them; but I do only remember the Names of Mr. *Burton* (a Lawyer whose Country-Residence is in *Shropshire*) and Mr. *Wardin*, a Merchant in *Brunnigham*, besides the two Ministers who preached there, whose Names are Mr. *Thomas Eaglesfall*, who lived in a little Market Town (called *Kinver*) in *Worcestershire*, near Justice *Foley's* House, and Mr. *Thomas Case*, who lived near *Shrewsbury*; and their Sermons were wholly tending to raise Faction and Sedition, in the same manner as I have too frequently heard in the Field-Conventicles in *Scotland*. About a year and half ago I went over into *Holland*, when I saw the (since deceased) Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the late Earl of *Argyll*, at *Amsterdam*; but did not speak with either of them; and saw *Ferguson* at *Rotterdam*, with whom I spoke; but nothing concerning the Government. Then Mr. *John Hag*, and the other Scotch Ministers belonging to *Rotterdam* (knowing that I was in the Rebellion, and could not safely live at Home) advised me to enter my self a Souldier in the Prince of *Orange's* Army; which I did accordingly in Colonel *James Douglass's* Regiment, in his own Company, where I served a Year; and then became known to Mr. *Thimble Maxwell*, a Captain in that Regiment, whose Countrey-man I am; and he understanding that I was fled from home upon the Account of my Accession to that Rebellion, told me how fair an Opportunity I had to serve the King, by making a full Discovery of all Persons that I knew to be guilty of it, or any ways aiding and assisting towards the promoting the same. Adding, that if I would follow his Advice in that matter, he doubted not of his putting me in a way to de-

serve

serve and obtain the King's Remission, whereby I might be enabled to live peaceably at home hereafter. To which I did very readily consent: And he having thereupon (the 12th. of November last) obtained my Discharge from my Colonel, I have since discovered what I could. And particularly that at Rotterdam (since my said Discharge) I had seen several of the Whiggish Ministers, some whereof I remember were at Bothwel-Bridge, who came from Scotland about the beginning of September last, viz. Mr. Thomas Forrester, and Mr. Patrick Vernatt (formerly mentioned in the Council of War) who preach frequently in the Scots Church at Rotterdam, As do Mr. Gordon (who is Brother to James Gordon, a Merchant there lately deceased) Mr. John Harvey, Mr. George Barclay, and Mr. John Sinclair, all Phanatick Preachers. The most part of whom (as the above-mentioned Mr. Forrester told me) went over from Holland into Scotland, about the month of August last; but that they found themselves in such daily Hazards of being apprehended, that they returned back again to Holland; and that this bad News which they brought over with them, is the reason why Robert Hamilton's late intended Journey to Scotland was put off, whither I was sometime before informed he did intend to go, and to carry Arms along with him to some of his Friends there. The said Forrester told me further, That they resolve to keep no more Field-Conventicles, finding, that those Meetings have served only to weaken their Party, through the seizing of some, and dispersing the rest (which made their Friends publickly known) and that now the English and they joyn Councils, and resolve to go on more warily. I did likewise discover, that the manner of the said Ministers, their passing to and fro betwixt Holland and Scotland undiscovered, was by their being clad in Sea-mans Cloaths, and working in the Ships as Sea-men. As also, that I was perswaded, before they shall attempt any thing towards a new Rebellion, or making use of the Arms, that the two Camrons left in Amsterdam (which are now in the Custody of the late Earl of Argyle, as I was told about nine Weeks ago in Utrecht, by Sir John Cochran's second Son, and Mr. William Cleland, mentioned in the Council of War) they will first endeavor to dispatch the King; and that being done, they doubted not but they could soon overcome the Duke, and all others that would oppose them: Which I heard my self discoursed in a Meeting about two months ago, at Mr. Thomas Hog, a Phanatick Preacher his House in Utrecht, where were present (besides Mr. Hog, and my self) Sir John Cochran's Son, and Mr. Cleland, already mentioned, Mr. James Steward, the Lawyer, his Lady, the Lady Kerland, and her Son, with several others, whose Names I do not remember: But this Language they speak only amongst their confident Friends: For they make the common sort of People believe, that there was no such thing as a Phanatick-Plot; but that the raising of that Report was a Contrivance of the Papists, to make use of false Witnesses, for taking away the Lives of True Protestants; which I have often heard, not only discoursed in Houses where some of the ordinary sort of People were in Company; but also preached in the Churches, where the Sermons (for the

Oath) to bring up their Children in the true Protestant Faith, and in the Discipline and Doctrine of the Kirk of Scotland, according as they are obliged by the Solemn League and Covenant; and at their Communion, debarring always from their Sacrament all such as have not taken the Covenant, and do not adhere to it. But of all the Fugitive Preachers lately gone over from Scotland into Holland, none is more perversely violent against the Government, than Mr. John Sinclair (who for many years was Minister, and kept a Boarding School at Ormestown) whom about twelve Weeks ago I heard preach in the Scotch Church at Rotterdam; and a great part of his Sermon was railing against the Duke, and the Privy Council of Scotland, saying, That he (meaning his Royal Highness) was a Rebellious Enemy of God; and had got such a Hand over those perjur'd Rogues (meaning the Lords of the Privy Council) as they all intended to overturn the Protestant Religion, and to introduce Popery; which (he further said) could very easily be done, considering the small Difference that is betwixt them since Episcopacy was re-established; and in his Prayer after Sermon, I heard him pray earnestly, That God might open the King's Eyes, to let him see the Evil of his Ways, and turn from it; otherwise, That God might take him out of this World, from being a Curse, and a Scourge to his Holy People. And further prayed, That God would turn the Counsels of his Councillors, as he did that of Achitophel into nothing.

The late Earl of Argyle lives now in the Province of Frisland, where he has a small Estate, purchased partly by his Father, and partly by himself; upon one of their Family or Tenants foretelling many years ago, that they should be driven from their Estate in Scotland, as I was often told in Holland, particularly by Mr. John Hog Minister of the Scotch Church in Rotterdam and Mr. John Pitcairne, who keeps a Meeting-house at Utrecht. The Earl of Lowden with two Servants only, and Sir James Dalrymple of Stair with his whole Family, live at Leyden, besides Mr. Douglas (a Minister) and some few more whose names I do not remember. There are many Phantick House-keepers in Rotterdam, who harbour the Rebels and Fugitives that come over from Scotland, Viz. Robert Gibs, Mr. Livistonne, John Gibs, Mr. Russell, James Delapp, James Thomson, John Greirson, James Nory, John Jack, George Weir, all Merchants, and the Widdow of the lately Deceased James Gordon Merchant, whose House was the Common Receptacle of the chief of those Rebels and Fugitives. The Gentlemen that I left at Rotterdam are, Mr. Denham of Westsheills with his Family, Captain William Cleland, John Belfour, with his Family, Captain William Ferguson of Caitloch with his Family, Captain Andrew Story. The Ministers there are Mr. John Hog, Mr. Robert Fleeming (settled Preachers of the Scotch Church) Mr. John Harraway, Mr. Thomas Forrester, Mr. Alexander Hasty, Mr. Patrick Vernat, Mr. John Blakater, Mr. Gordon, Mr. George Barclay and Mr. John Sinclair aforesaid, who is now settled a Preacher in the English Church at Delfe. At Utrecht I left Mr. James Stewart the Lawyer with his Family, and his Elder Brother the Laird of Coldness, Mr. Cochran, (Sir John's Second Son) the Lady Kerland and her Son, and Six Ministers, Viz. Mr. Thomas Hogg, Mr. John Pitcairne,

Mr. John Ogilvy, Mr. John Veitche, Mr. Robert Ker and Mr. Robert Menteath, besides some others of less Note, whose names I do not remember I left at *Utrecht* three *English* Gentlemen who lived there for some time before, and go by the Names of Esquire *Packwood*, Mr. *Smith* a Merchant of *London*, and Mr. *Jones* a *Welsh*-man, but I do not believe that these are their true Names for they fled from *England* upon the Discovery of the late Plot, as did likewise several other *Englishmen*, whom I did often see there, but could not learn their Names. I did also see and speak with Sir *John Cochran*, but he and 7. or 8. *Scotchmen* more (whose names I know not) went two days after my Arrival there, to *Gilderland*, where a great many of the Rebels and Fugitives live (as they think) most safe and at ease amongst the Borees; for they were afraid of Staying at *Utrecht* (as some of themselves told me) by reason of the Spies that they were informed were sent thither from *England* to make enquiry after such of his *Majesties* Subjects as lived there. And Mr. *Cochran* and Captain *Cleland* told me as their Friend, that the report amongst our Countrymen was that I likewise was sent thither as a Spie; which although they did not believe, yet they advised me to be gone away privately, assuring me withal that I was every hour I stayed there in hazard of losing my Life. Upon this I returned to *Rotterdam*, where my Credit with that Party continued about a week, untill I was suspected by my old Captain and three of the Ministers, *Viz.* *Harraway*, *Forrester* and *Sinclair*, who about 7 or 8 Weeks ago carried me with them to Church, and there proposed (as a Test of my Sincerity to the interest of the good Cause as it was commonly called) that I should take the Covenant and the Sacrament with a Solemn Protestation that I am still (as I have been in former times) an Enemy to the King and the present Government: All which I refused to do; and then they debarred me for ever from their Meetings and Company: Nevertheless I did often thereafter insinuate my self into both, though without any Success; for I could not recover their good opinion, but on the contrary was daily threatened with the severest effects of their revenge.

White-ball,

24 Feb. 1681.

Robert Smith.

*The Information of Zachariah Bourne taken the 5th.
of December, 1683.*

THat *Mr. Bayly* sat up one night, if not two, with *Mr. Ferguson*, and went several times in the Evening, with him to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the cheif managers of the Conspiracy: *Ferguson* told me, he was the Cheif man for the *Scots*, next the Lord *Argyle*. The Night he sat up with *Ferguson*, I believe it was about the Declaration, for the next day he was going to shew it me, but some body came up to him, and hinder'd him. *Mr. Bayly's* great business to meet the Cheif Conspirators was (as *Ferguson* told me) to get the 10000. *l.* for the buying of Arms, for the Insurrection in *Scotland*.

Carstares I saw often come to *Ferguson*, but for any Discourse he had with him he never told me of, or with any other but *Mr. Bayly*, as I can at present remember.

Zac. Bourne.

*The Deposition of Mr. William Carstares, when
he was Examined before the Lords of Secret
Committee, given in by him, and renewed upon
Oath, upon the 22d. of December, 1684. in
presence of the Lords of His Majesty's Privy-
Council.*

Edinburgh-Castle, September 8. 1684.

MR. *William Carstares* being Examined upon Oath, conform to the Confession given in by him, and on the Terms therein-mention'd, Depones, That about *November* or *December*, 1682, *James Stuart*, Brother to the Laird of *Cullinst*, wrote a Letter to him from *Holland*, importing, that if any considerable sum of Money could

could be procur'd from *England*, that something of Importance might be done in *Scotland*: The which Letter, the Deponent had an Inclination to inform *Shepard* in *Abb-Church-lane*, Merchant in *London* of; but before he could do it, he wrote to Mr. *Stuart* above-nam'd, to know from him if he might do it; and Mr. *Stuart* having consented, he Communicat the said Letter to Mr. *Shepard*, who told the Deponent that he would Communicat the Contents of it to some persons in *England*; but did at that time name no body, as the Deponent, thinks: Some time thereafter, Mr. *Shepard* told the Deponent, that he had Communicat the Contents of the Letter above-named to Colonel *Sidney*, and that Colonel *Danvers* was present, and told the Deponent, that Colonel *Sidney* was averse from imploying the late Earl of *Argile*, or meddling with him, judging him a man too much affected to the Royal Family, and inclined to the present Church-Government; yet Mr. *Shepard* being put upon it by the Deponent, still urg'd, that one might be sent to the Earl of *Argile*, but as Mr. *Shepard* told him, he was suspected upon the account of his urging so much; yet afterwards he press'd, without the Deponents knowledge, that the Deponent being to go to *Holland* however, might have some Commission to the Earl of *Argile*, which he having inform'd the Deponent of, the Deponent told him, that he himself would not be concern'd, but if they would send another he would introduce him; but nothing of this was done: upon which the Deponent went over, without Commission from any body, to *Holland*, never meeting with *James Stuart* above-named: He was introduced to the Earl of *Argile*, with whom he had never before convers'd and did there discourse what had past betwixt Mr. *Shepard* and him; and particularly, about remitting of Money to the said Earl from *England*; of which, the said Mr. *Stuart* had written to the Deponent, namely of 30000 pounds *Sterling*; and of the raising of 1000 Horse and Dragoons; and the securing the Castle of *Edinburgh*, as a matter of the greatest importance: The method of doing this was propos'd by the Deponent, to be one hour, or thereby, after the relieving of the Guards: But the Earl did not relish this proposition, as dangerous; and that the Castles would fall of consequence, after the work abroad was done. *James Stuart* was of the Deponents Opinion, for seizing the Castle; because it would secure *Edinburgh*, the Magazines and Arms. As to the 1000 Horse and Dragoons, my Lord *Argile* was of Opinion, that without them nothing was to be done; and that if that number was rais'd in *England* to the said Earl, he would come into *Scotland* with them; and that there being so few Horse and Dragoons to meet them, he judg'd he might get the Country without trouble, having such a standing Body for their Friends to Rendezvouz to; and the said Earl said he could shew the Deponent the convenient places for Landing, if he understood, and as the Deponent remembers, where the Ships could attend. The Deponent remembers not the Names of the Places. The Deponent spoke to the Lord *Stairs*, but cannot be positive that he nam'd the Affair to him, but found him shie: but the Earl of *Argile* told him, he thought *Stairs* might be gain'd to them: And that the Earl of *London* being a man of good Reason and disoblig'd, should have great influence upon the Country, and recommended the Deponent to

Major

Major *Holms*, with whom the Deponent had some acquaintance before, and had brought over a Letter from him to the Earl of *Argyle*; but the Deponent had not then communicate any thing to the said *Holms*. *James Stuart* laid down a way of correspondence by Cyphers and false Names, and sent them over to *Holms*, and the Deponent, for their use (which Cyphers and Names are now in the hands of His Majesty's Officers, as the Deponent supposes,) and did desire the Deponent earnestly to propose the 30000 pound *Sterling* above-named to the Party in *England*, and did not propose any less; for as the Earl told the Deponent, he had particularly calculate the Expence for Arms, Ammunition, &c. But *James Stuart* said, that if some less could be had, the Earl would content himself, if better might not be, but the Earl always said that there was nothing to be done without the body of Horse and Dragoons above-mentioned; During the time of the Deponent his abode in *Holland* who he had several Letters from *Shepard*, yet there was no satisfactory account, till some time after the Deponent parted from the Earl of *Argyle*, and was making for a Ship at *Rotterdam* to transport himself to *England*. *James Stuart* wrote to him that there was hopes of the Money. The next day after the Deponent came to *England*, he met with Sir *John Cochran*, who with Commissar *Monro*, and *Jerviswood*, was at *London* before he came over; and depones, That he knows not the account of their coming, more than for the perfecting the Transaction about *Carolina*: and having acquainted Sir *John Cochran* with the Earls demands of the 30000 pound *Sterling*, and the 1000 Horse and Dragoons, Sir *John* carried him to the Lord *Russel*, to whom the Deponent proposed the Affair, but being an absolute Stranger to him the Deponent had no return from him at that time; but afterwards having met him accidenly at Mr. *Shepard*'s house, where the Lord *Russel* had come to speak to *Shepard* about the Money above-named, as Mr. *Shepard* told the Deponent. The Deponent (when they were done speaking) desired to speak to the Lord *Russel*, which the Lord *Russel* did, and having reiterate the former Proposition for the 30000 pound *Sterling*, and the 1000 Horse and Dragoons, he the Lord *Russel* told the Deponent, they could not get so much raised at the time, but if they had 10000 pound to begin, that would draw People in, and when they were coming they could soon be brought to more; but as for the 1000 Horse and Dragoons, he could say nothing at the present, for then believed to be concerned upon the Borders. The Deponent made the same proposal to Mr. *Ferguson*, who was much concerned in the Affair, and was for the promoting of it. This Mr. *Ferguson* had in *Old Sir* in *Newcastle* before, as the Deponent remembers in a Conversation with the Deponent in *Cheapside*, or the Street somewhat thereabouts; and that for the saving of Innocent Blood, it would be necessary to cut off a few, insinuating the King and Duke, but cannot be positive whether he named them or not; To which the Deponent said, that his work for our wild People in *Scotland*, my Conscience does not serve me for such things; after which the Deponent had never any particular discourse with *Ferguson* as to that matter; but as to the other Affair, *Ferguson* told the Deponent that he was doing what he could to get it effectuate; as particularly that he spoke to one Major *Wildman* who

who is not of the Deponent his acquaintance. *Ferguson* blamed always *Sidney*, as driving designs of his own. The Deponent met twice or thrice with the Lord *Melvil*, Sir *John Cochran*, *Jerviswood*, Commissar *Monro*, the two *Cessnocks*, *Montgomery* of *Langshaw*, and one Mr. *Veatch*, where they discoursed of Money to be sent to *Argile*, in order to the carrying on the Affair; and tho he cannot be positive the Affair was named, yet it was understood by himself, and as he conceives by all present, to be for rising in Arms, for rectifying the Government. Commissar *Monro*, Lord *Melvil*, and the two *Cessnocks* were against meddling with the *English*, because they judged them men that would talk, and would not do, but were more inclined to do something by themselves, if it could be done. The Lord *Melvil* thought every thing hazardous, and therefore the Deponent cannot say he was positive in any thing, but was most inclined to have the Duke of *Monmouth* to head them in *Scotland*, of which no particular method was laid down. *Jerviswood*, the Deponent, and Mr. *Veatch*, were for taking the Money; at one of these Meetings it was resolved, that Mr. *Martin*, late Clerk of the Justice Court, should be sent to *Scotland*, to desire their Friends to hinder the Country from Rising or taking rash Resolutions upon the account of the Council, till they should see how matters went in *England*. The said *Martin* did go at the Charges of the Gentlemen of the Meeting, and was directed to the Laird of *Polwart* and *Torwoodlie*, who sent back word, that it would not be found so easie a matter to get the Gentry of *Scotland* to concur: But afterwards in a Letter to Commissar *Monro*, *Polwart* wrote that the Country was readier to concur then they had imagined, or something to that purpose. The Deponent, as above-said, having brought over a Key from *Holland*, to serve himself and Major *Holms*, he remembers not that ever he had an exact Copy of it, but that sometimes the one, sometimes the other kepted it, and so it chanced to be in his Custody when a Letter from the Earl of *Argile* came to Major *Holms*, intimating, that the would joyn with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and follow his Measures, or obey his Directions: this Mr. *Veatch* thought fit to communicate to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and for the Understanding of it was brought to the Deponent, and he gave the Key to Mr. *Veatch*, who as the Deponent was inform'd, was to give it and the Letter to Mr. *Ferguson*, and he to shew it to the Duke of *Monmouth*; but what was done in it the Deponent knows not. The Deponent heard the Design of killing the King and Duke, from Mr. *Shepard*, who told the Deponent some were full upon it. The Deponent heard that *Aaron Smith* was sent by those in *England* to call Sir *John Cochran*, on the account of *Carolina*, but that he does not know *Aaron Smith*, nor any more of that Matter, not being concern'd in it. *Shepard* nam'd young *Hambden* frequently as concern'd in these Matters.

Sign'd at Edingburgh Castle, the 8th of September, 1684. and renewed the 18th. of the same Month.

William Carstairs.

PERTH. CANCELL. I.P.D.

Edinburgh

Edinburgh Castle September 18. 1684.

MR. *William Carstares* being again examin'd, adheres to his former Deposition, in all the parts of it, and Depones he knows of no Correspondence betwixt Scotland and England, except by *Martin* before-nam'd: For those Gentlemen to whom he was sent, were left to follow their own Methods. *Veatch*, as the Deponent remembers, stayed sometimes at *Nicholson*, Stabler's House at *London-Wall*; sometimes with one Widow *Hardcastle* in *Morefields*. The Deponent did Communicate the Design on Foot to Doctor *Owen*, Mr. *Griffil*, and Mr. *Meed* at *Stepney*, who all concurred in the promoting of it, and were desirous it should take effect; and to one Mr. *Freth* in the Temple, Councillor at Law, who said he would see what he could do in reference to the Money, but there having gone a Report, that there was no Money to be rais'd, he did nothing in it, nor does the Deponent think him any more concern'd in the Affair, *Nelthrop* frequently spoke to the Deponent of the Money to be sent to *Argile*, whether it was got or not, but the Deponent used no freedom with him in the Affair. *Goodenough* did insinuate once, that the Lords were not inclin'd to the thing, and that before they would see what they could do in the City. The Deponent saw Mr. *Ferguson*, and Mr. *Rumsay*, lurking after the Plot broke out, before the Proclamation, having gone to *Ferguson*, in the back of *Bishop-gate-street*, at some new Building, whether he was directed by *Jerviswood*, who was desirous to know how things went, *Rumsay* was not of the Deponent his Acquaintance before, but they knew as little of the matter as the Deponent. This is what the Deponent remembers, and if any thing come to his Memory, he is to deliver it in betwixt, and the first of *October*: And this is the truth, as he shall Answer to God.

William Carstares.

PERTH CANCELL. I. P. D.

At Edinburgh, the 22d. of December, 1684.

THese fore-going Pages, subscrib'd by Mr. *William Carstares* Deponent, and by the Lord Chancellor, were acknowledged on Oath by the said Mr. *William Carstares*, to be his true Depositions, and that the Subscriptions were his, in presence of us Underscribers.

William Carstares.

PERTH CANCELLARIUS.

David Falconer.
George Mckenzie.

QUENSBERRY.
ATHOL.

A n

Copy of the Lord Ruffel's Examination in the Tower.

My Lord Ruffel Asked,

Whether he knows of any Consultations tending towards an Insurrection, or to surprize His Majesties Guards at any time, and by any persons, and by whom?

Whether he hath ever been at Mr. *Shepards* House, and how often, and when last?

Whether any Lords were in company, and who?

Whether at any time the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Ferguson*, or any of them were there, and how many, and which of them?

Whether there was any discourse concerning a Rising in the West, or any parts of the West; or at *Taunton*, and what the Discourse was, and by whom?

Whether there was any discourse concerning the surprizing the Kings Guards at any time?

Whether the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* did undertake to view the Guards to see if it might be done, and in what posture they were?

Whether they gave any account that they had viewed the Guards, and how they found them?

What did Mr. *Ferguson* say at any of those Meetings, and by whom was he directed?

Whether he knows of any Design for a Rising in *Scotland*? Whether he hath been at any Consultations for that end, with any persons, Scotchmen or others, and with whom? What Monies the Scotch demanded at first, and whether they did not consent to take Ten thousand pounds, and how was that or any part of that to be raised, and by whom?

My Lord Ruffel's Answer to the preceding Interrogatories.

MY Lord knows of no Consultation tending to any Insurrection. His Lordship knows nothing of any Consultation or Design to surprize his Majesties Guards at any time. *divers times*

His Lordship doth acknowledge to have been frequently at Mr. *Shepards* House.

His Lordship cannot precisely set down the time that he was there last.

To the two Articles relating to the Lords that were in company at Mr. *Shepards*, his Lordship answers that he went thither with the Duke of *Monmouth*; but as to the rest of the persons then present, his Lordship conceives that he ought not to answer, because there were ill Constructions made of that Meeting, nor cannot positively remember.

His Lordship answers,

There was no discourse as he remembers concerning any Rising in the West, or any parts of the West, or at *Taunton*, nor particularly of Mr.

John Trenchards Undertaking, nor any discourse about Mr. *John Trenchard* as he remembers.

His Lordship answers there was no Discourse at Mr. *Shepards* about surprizing the Guards, nor of the Duke of *Monmouth's*, my Lord *Grey's*, nor of Sir *Thomas Armstrong's* Undertaking to view the Guards; nor was there any account there given by the said persons of their having viewed the Guards, nor how they found them.

Nor was there any such Undertaking elsewhere to his knowledge.

To the question what Mr. *Ferguson* did say at any of those Meetings, his Lordship answers that he cannot tell what Mr. *Ferguson* did say there, nor doth he own that Mr. *Ferguson* was there.

His Lordship knows of no Design for a Rising in *Scotland*, nor knows any thing of the whole Article relating to *Scotland*, nor any part of it.

His Lordship hath heard general discourses of many distressed people, Ministers and others of the Scottish Nation that were fled and that it were great Charity to relieve them.

This Examination was taken the 28th day of *June*, 1683.
before Us

L. Jenkins,
J. Ernle,
R. Sawyer,
H. Finch.

*Notes of some things Confessed before His Majesty
and the Council, taken out of the Books of
Minutes.*

John Rouse confesseth that Money was Collected in the City at the intimation or desire of some Parliament Men, for the Kings Evidence, that receiving that Money for that purpose from some of them he sent it to those Persons for whom it was design'd.

Bourn Confesses, That Sir Thomas Armstrong used to come every day to Ferguson when he lay at his House, that he has seen him since the discovery when Armstrong urged him to get some friends together to make a push and that it was better to dye with Swords in their hands.

Walcot Confesses, That Aaron Smith was sent into Scotland by those Gentlemen that transacted the matter.

Bourn says, That Ferguson Lodged at his Fathers House a Month or six Weeks, That he left no Papers in his House and used to say. he would never be hanged for Papers.

Shepard says, Bayly told him Charlton had undertaken to raise the whole 10000 l.

Romzey says, The Lord Russel was about going away from Shepard's when he arrived there, and that his Lordship said Trenchard was a Coward, and that he would go down himself and begin the Rising.

Charlton confesses, He had paid Oates 80 l. per quarter for his subsistence of which he had but 10 l. of my Lord Shaftsbury, and was himself the rest out of Purse but that he was told a Parliament would reimburse him.

Shepard says, That Ferguson and Bayly told him that Charlton would procure the 10000 l. himself, and raise it upon a Mortgage.

Charlton further says, He paid Oates about 400 l. in all.

*The Information of John Rouse taken at his desire
in Newgate the 19th of July, 1683.*

THe Informant saith, That the design of the Rebellion and seizing the King was begun by the Earl of *Shaftsbury* at his House in *Aldersgate-street*, before the meeting of the Parliament at *Oxford*, where the Duke of *Monmouth*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, Major *Manly* a Brewer at *Whitechappel*, and others whom he saw there and as he was told likewise by his Servants, frequently met there; the foundation of all the Scurrilous Libels was laid, particularly that of the *Raree-shew*.

That all those Clubs at *Mile-end-green*, the *Sun* behind the *Exchange*, at *Russel's* in *Iron-Monger-lane*, and at the *Salutation* in *Lumhard-street*, were to carry on that Design, he cannot recollect all names, but declares that he knows all those of Note that were at those Clubs were thoroughly acquainted with the Design. These Clubs were divided into three Factions, by reason of which division the Informant saith the Design went on so slow as it did, and at last it fell between the Duke of *Monmouth*, and a Common-wealth; and the greater number carried it for the Duke of *Monmouth*, because it was found upon his going into the West, *Chichester* and *Cheshire*, the vogue of the people went for him. Those that were for a Common-wealth were absolutely resolved to have nothing to do with the Race of the *Stuart's*; but they pitcht upon *Richard Cromwel*, whom this Informant knows to be in *England*. The longest day that was appointed for execution of this was at *Midsummer-day* last, when the people should be at *Guild-hall* chosing Sheriffs.

Five hundred Horse were promised to be sent in from the Country, who were to seize the Guards.

The pretence of the Conspirators was to secure His Majesty from being killed by the Papists, that if he would not comply with His Parliament at *Oxford*, then to set up the Duke of *Monmouth*. That this was long design'd likewise before the meeting at *Oxford*.

The Informant saith, That it was resolved by the Conspirators, that when they should have accomplisht their Design, and that the Tower and City of *London* was seized, then they were to go to *Whitehal* and demand their Priviledges, and Freedoms, with their Swords in their hands.

He hath been present at many of these Clubs where these Designs have been consulted of, and all the persons of any note, Commons as well as Lords were consenting to the Conspiracy; he saith he can prove it by many Witneses.

He saith my Lord *Shaftsbury* and *Oates* were the Principal movers in all this business.

*A particular Account of the Situation of the
Rye-House.*

THE *Rye-House* in *Hartfordshire*, about eighteen Miles from *London*, is so called from the *Rye* a Meadow near it. Just under it there is a By-road from *Bishops-Strafford* to *Hoddesden*, which was constantly used by the King when he went to or from *Newmarket*; the great Road winding much about on the Right-hand by *Stansted*. The House is an Old Strong Building, and stands alone, encompass'd with a Mote, and towards the Garden has high Walls, so that Twenty Men might easily defend it for some time against Five hundred. From a high Tower in the House all that go or come may be seen both ways for near a Mile distance. As you come from *Newmarket* towards *London*, when you are near the House, you pass the Meadow over a narrow Causeway, at the end of which is a Toll-gate, which having Entered you go through a Yard, and a little Field, and at the end of that through another Gate, you pass into a narrow Lane, where two Coaches at that time could not go a-breast. This narrow Passage had on the Left hand a thick Hedge and a Ditch, on the Right a long Range of Building used for Corn-Chambers and Stables with several Doors and Windows looking into the Road, and before it a Pale, which then made the Passage so narrow, but is since removed. When you are past this long Building, you go by the Mote, and the Garden Wall, that is very Strong, and has divers Holes in it, through which a great many Men might shoot. Along by the Mote and Wall the Road continues to the *Ware-River* which runs about Twenty or Thirty yards from the Mote, and is to be past by a Bridge. A small distance from thence another Bridge is to be past over the *New-River*. In both which Passes a few Men may oppose great Numbers. In the outer Court-yard, which is behind the long Building, a considerable Body of Horse and Foot might be drawn up unperceived from the Road; whence they might easily issue out at the same time into each end of the narrow Lane, which was also to be stopt up by overturning a Cart.

Notes of what pass'd between the Late
KING, His Royal Highness the
Duke of YORK, and the Duke
of MONMOUTH, at the Time of
his first Rendring himself.

Taken in Writing at that Time by his Royal Highness

November the 25th. 1683.

Y Esterday the Duke of *Monmouth* came and Surrendered himself to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, and desired to Speak alone with the KING and DUKE, which was Granted him. He first Threw himself at His MAJESTIES Feet, acknowledging his Guilt, and the Share he had in the Conspiracy, and asked His Pardon, then Confest himself Faulty to the DUKE, asked his Pardon also, assured him if he should survive His MAJESTY, that he would Pay him all the Duty that became a Loyal Subject, and be the First should Draw his Sword for him, should there be Occasion. He then Desired His MAJESTY would not Oblige him to be a Witness, and then gave an Account of the Whole Conspiracy, naming all Those Concerned in it, which were more than Those had already been Mentioned by the several Witnesses. He denyed any Knowledge of the Assassination. When he had made an end of his Confession, His MAJESTY Ordered him to be put into the Custody of a Serjeant at Arms. This day Admitted him to His Presence, and Ordered a Stop to be put to the Outlawry, and Promis'd him his Pardon. He further added, That *Dr. Owen, Mead, Griffin*, and all the Considerable Non-conformists Ministers knew of the Conspiracy.

*The Duke of Monmouth's First Letter to the
KING, mentioned, P. 151 of the foregoing
Account.*

IF I could have Writ to Your *MAJESTY* sooner, with any Safety to my Self, I would have done it, to have told you, That there is nothing under Heaven has Struck Me so to the Heart; as to be Put into a Proclamation for an Intention of Murdring of You; *SIR*, and the *DUKE*. I do Call God Almighty to Witness, and I Wish I may Die this Moment I am Writing if ever it Entred into my Head, or ever said the least Thing to any Body that could make them think I could wish such a Thing; I am sure there cannot be such Villains upon Earth to say I ever did. But I am so Innocent to this Point, that I will say no more of it, for I know God Almighty is Just; and I do not doubt but he will put it into Your Heart that I am Clear of this Most Horrid and Base Accusation. But, *SIR*, the Chief Intent of this Letter is to Beg Pardon both of You, *SIR*, and the *DUKE*, for the many Things I have done that have made You both Angry with Me: But more especially of the *DUKE*, though I might have some Justification for my Self that many People made Me believe he Intended to Destroy Me; for to You, *SIR*, I do Protest before God Almighty; and I Wish I may never Prosper more, that all I have done was only to Save You, as I shall Convince Your *MAJESTY*, if ever I am so Happy as to Speak to You, and I Hope You will let Me do it, before it be long, for I have that to say to You, *SIR*, that will for ever I Hope Settle You Quiet in Your Kingdom, and the *DUKE* after You, whom I Intend to Serve to the Uttermost of my Power, and, *SIR*, to Convince him that I will do so, if Your *MAJESTY* will Give Me Your Pardon, I will Deliver my Self up into his Hands, that the *DUKE* may bring Me to You; besides, *SIR*, I should be Glad to have him by when I Speak to You, but no Body else, and by this Kindness of the *DUKES*, if
ever

ever I should do any Thing afterwards against Him, I must be thought the Ungratefullest Man Living. What Good can it do You, *SIR*, to take Your Own Childs Life away that only Erred and Ventured his Life to Save Yours? And besides, *SIR*, I am Sure I can be Serviceable to You, and if I may Say so, make the Rest of Your Life Happy, or at least Contribute a great Deal towards it. You may believe Me, *SIR*, for I do not tell You this out of Fear, but because I do Think my Self sure of it. I do Beg of You, *SIR*, if You have any Thoughts of Mercy of Me, that You will let Me know it soon, for the sooner I Speak to You the better. And now, *SIR*, I do Swear to You, that from this Time, I never will Displease You in any Thing, but the whole Study of my Life shall be to shew how truly Penitent I am for having done it; and how Well I will Deserve the Life You give Me. And for the *DUKE* that he may have a more Firm Confidence of the Service I intend to do Him, I do here Declare to Your *MAJESTY*, that I will never ask to see Your Face more, if ever I do any Thing against Him, which is the greatest Curse I can lay upon my Self,

Monmouth.

The

*The Duke of Monmouth's Second Letter to the
KING mentioned P. 132 of the foregoing
Account.*

YOU must allow Me, *SIR*, still to Importune You not without Hopes of Prevailing at last upon Your Generosity, so as it may get the better of Your Anger to Me: I am half Distracted, *SIR*, with the Thoughts of having Offended You; and the Torment it gives Me is perhaps greater than Your forgiving Nature would know how to inflict upon the most Criminal Offenders: The Character I lie under is too heavy for Me to bear; even Death it self would be a Relief to Me, could I have it without the Aggravation of leaving the World under Your Displeasure: I must therefore throw my self upon Your Compassion, which being a Virtue so agreeable to Your Nature, I hope Your Child, *SIR*, will not be an unfortunate Instance of Your denying it, when 'tis Implored: I confess, *SIR*, I have been in Fault, Mislead, and Insensibly Engaged in Things of which the Consequence was not enough Understood by Me: Yet I can say I never had a Criminal Thought towards Your *MAJESTY*, not pretending by that to Insist upon an Absolute Justification of my Self: Your *MAJESTY* will Consider, that whilst I was Under the Apprehensions of great Anger and Violence against Me, it might easily Corrupt my Judgment, and by seeing Things in a wrong Light, Betray Me into very Fatal Mistakes: But now that I have had Time to Recollect my Self, every thing like a Fault towards Your *MAJESTY* appeareth to Me in such a Reproaching Terrifying Shape, that I have a Remorse for it, which could it be seen, I assure my Self it would Move Your Compassion to Me: I Humbly beg, *SIR*, to be Admitted to Your Feet, and to be Disposed of as You Direct, not only now, but for the Remainder of my Life: And though my Resignation is too full to admit any Reserve, Your *MAJESTY* will permit me to offer to You, Whether You will let pass any thing as a Penalty upon Me, which may lay a Stain upon my Innocent Children? Whe-

ther You will make Me Undergo the Ignominy of a Tryal, before You give Me Your Pardon? And of what Use or Satisfaction can it be to You to Forgive Me, and yet give Me the Cruel Punishment of hearing my Self Arraigned for Treason against such a KING, and such a FATHER? And whether my being carried to the *Tower* in case You be pleased to Excuse my Tryal, can have any Effect but an unnecessary Mortification of One, who God knoweth is already enough Afflicted, and some kind of Blemish too, to my Family, as well as an useless Limitation of Your *MAJESTIES* Mercy? *SIR*, I lay these Things before You in the most Submitting Manner that is Possible, with an Entire Resignation to what You shall Determine. Neither do I Imagine to Receive Your Pardon any otherwise than by the Intercession of the *DUKE*, whom I Acknowledge to have Offended, and am Prepared to Submit my Self in the Humblest Manner; and therefore beg Your *MAJESTY* would Direct how I am to Apply my Self to Him; and I shall do it, not as an Outward Form, but with all the Sincerity in the World. If what I have said can Move You to Forget my past Faults, it will be a Grace I shall Endeavour to Deserve by all the Actions of my Life: And I am so sensible how Ill a Guide my Own Will hath been to Me, that I am Resolved for the Future to put it Entirely into Your *MAJESTIES* Hands, that I may by that Means never Commit a Fault but for want of Your Directions or Your Commands. Dear, *SIR*, be pleased to Revive by a kind Answer the most Miserable Disconsolate Creature now Living,

Monmouth.

The

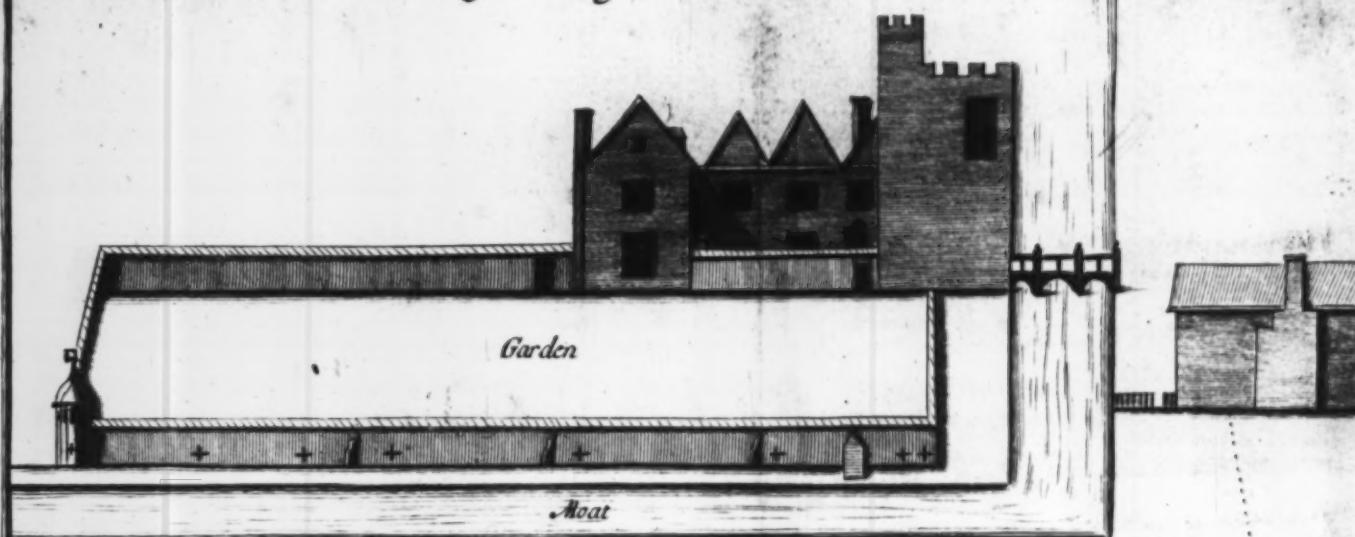
The Copy of a Letter to the KING, Signed by the Duke of Monmouth, mentioned P. 155 of the foregoing Account.

I Have heard of some Reports of Me, as if I should have Lessen'd the Late Plot, and gone about to Discredit the Evidence given against Those, who have Died by Justice. Your *MAJESTY* and the *DUKE* know how Ingenuously I have Own'd the Late Conspiracy; and though I was not Conscious of any Design against Your *MAJESTIES LIFE*, yet I Lament the having had so Great a Share in the other Part of the said Conspiracy. *SIR*, I have taken the Liberty to put this in Writing for my Own Vindication, and I beseech You to Look Forward, and Endeavour to Forget the Faults You have Forgiven Me: I will take Care never to Commit any more against You, or come within the Danger of being again Mislead from my Duty, but make it the Business of my Life to Deserve the Pardon Your *MAJESTY* hath granted to Your Dutiful

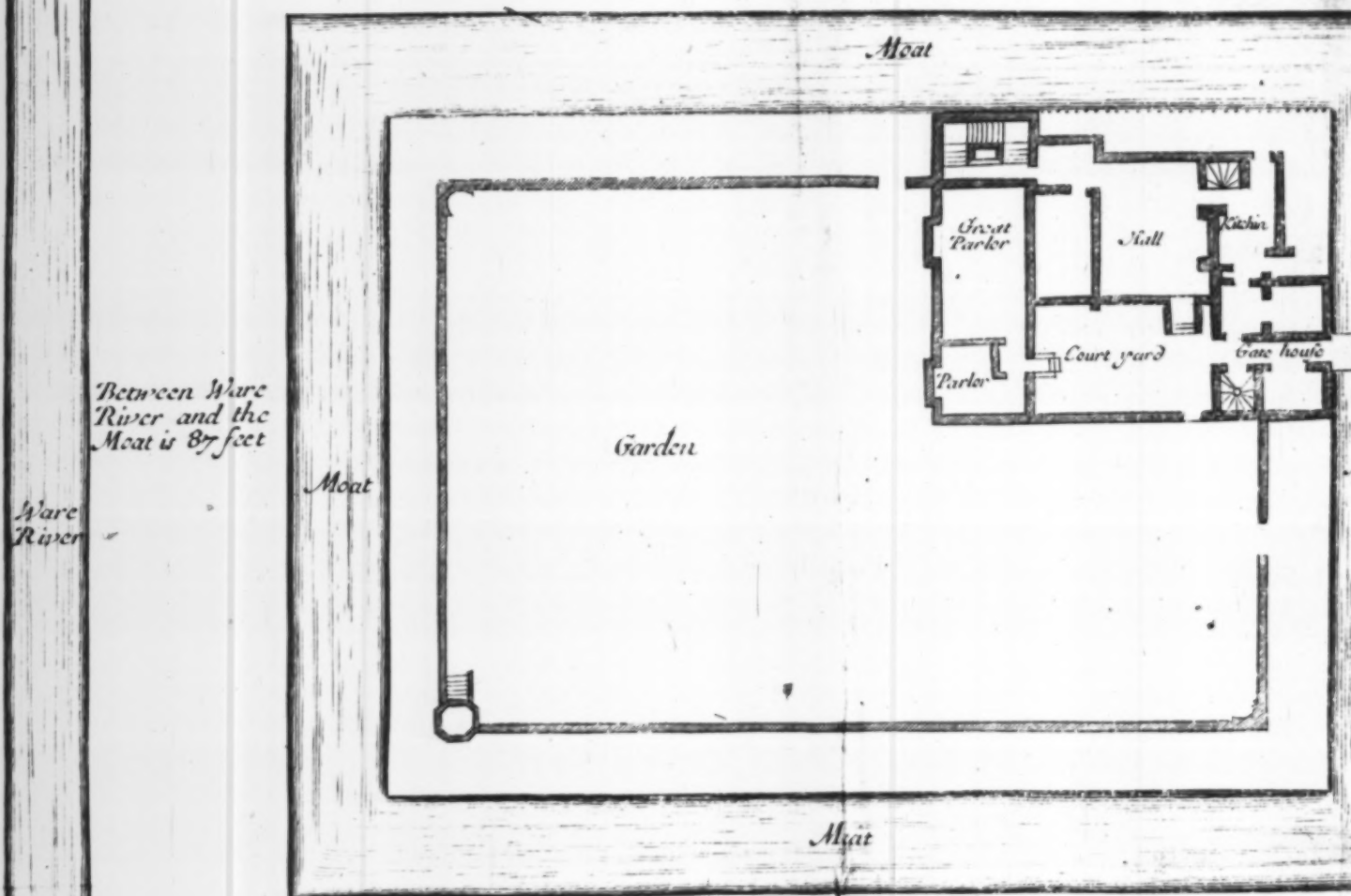
Monmouth.

F I N I S.

The Rye House



the south Front next the Roade



Between Ware River and the Moat is 87 feet

Ware River

Moat

Moat

The Road from Hoddesdon to Bishop Stafford

Bridge



Malting house

Outward Court Yard

*From the Meadow to the Court Wall
250 paces*

Meat

*Corn Chambers and Stables formerly Called
Houings Roe*

The narrow passage

A Scale of feet

